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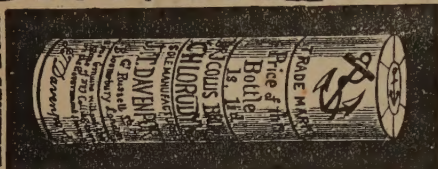
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1894.

ART. I.—THE EARLIEST ROMAN MASS-BOOK.

1. *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ.* Edited, with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Appendix, by H. A. WILSON, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1894.
2. *Ueber das sogenannte Sacramentarium Gelasianum.* Von P. SUITBERT BÄUMER, O.S.B. (Reprinted from the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, vol. xiv. 1893, pp. 241–301). München: J. G. Weiss. 1893.

SELF-COMPLACENCY is a most happy endowment in this world. Not long ago a writer in the great Anglican quarterly, taking his stand on the vantage-ground of the Book of Common Prayer, compiled and first printed in 1548 and 1549, looked down with something of pitying patronage on that more modern work, the Roman Missal of St. Pius V., which only issued from the press some twenty years later. Of course this is ridiculous, but in the present rarified state of the atmosphere in high Anglican circles, it may be credited that the writer spoke in simplicity of good faith according to his sense and feeling. For the most part Catholics are content, where the sacred liturgy is concerned, to take in an even, not to say indifferent, spirit the good that comes to them without inquiring too particularly how it came. They are content in a general way with the fact that they are in the full current and

stream of an uninterrupted tradition, the source of which is to be found in the apostolic age itself. Still it should be even for Catholics a subject of interest to ascertain in some measure the steps by which the mass-book in use to-day came to be what it is; and to trace the gradual accretions that have gathered round the primitive kernel. Although there is no reason to despair of the substantial accomplishment of this task some day, the process must be slow and painful, for few subjects of investigation are more obscure than the origins of the Christian liturgy, and the steps whereby various types of divine service were developed in different churches; few subjects afford such wide scope for free conjecture or arbitrary assertion. The rule is general that no contemporary record was made, public or private, marking the chief steps or phases of the evolution. At most, traditional names—St. Basil or St. Chrysostom, St. Gelasius, or St. Gregory—have become attached to special mass-books or liturgies; even more vaguely still, an apostolic attribution, for instance, St. James, St. Mark, serves to point out the church in which the liturgy so named was in use. The case of the Roman rite differs from the rest only so far that the ancient extant materials are more abundant, and that in the case of this rite, beyond any other, serious and more or less critical attempts have been made to recover a lost history. Moreover, though no Church showed itself more solicitous in what, for want of a better term, we may call patristic times, to guard its own rite from foreign admixture, the earliest extant books and detailed accounts of the rite are due to the curiosity or the zeal with which aliens were led to inquire into its specific features, or to propagate its forms and texts in their own land.

Three early missal-books of the Roman Church, or, as they were called, sacramentaries (books of the sacraments, of the divine mysteries), are extant, now usually called the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian. Whatever discussion may arise as to the exact propriety of the names which thus pass current, they have at least the merit and advantage of clearly indicating three successive stages of development, and substantially corresponding (with what justice may be here left an open question) to the second half of the fifth century, and the beginning of the sixth and seventh. It must not be supposed

that these mass-books present, on opening, just the same appearance as a missal of the present day. They comprise only what was then said by the celebrant himself: collects, secrets, post-communions, prefaces, the canon. The epistles and gospels, and all the sung portions of the mass, were to be found in separate books, and formed no part of the Missal itself. On the other hand the Ritual and the Pontifical had then no existence; and the whole of the functions of bishop and priest, baptism, ordination, the special rites of Holy Week and Pentecost, were in those centuries comprised in the Book of the Sacraments, or Missal.

The earliest of these Roman sacramentaries, the so-called Leonine, has no claim to be a formal mass-book. It is indeed ranged according to months, but it shows hardly so much outline of order in its contents as even this would imply. The collection is ample, two, three, a dozen or even more masses being given for the same feast; but it can evidently pretend to be no more than a body of materials brought together by a private hand.

The second, what has been called the Gelasian Sacramentary, presents quite another character. It is an ordered collection in the form of three books. Speaking from the bulk of the contents of each book, the first contains the missal and other offices connected with the ecclesiastical year; the second, masses for saints' days. The third book presents a large body of votive masses, with a certain number for Sundays and week-days. As yet a special mass had not been assigned to each Sunday after Epiphany and Pentecost; these Sunday masses were therefore a collection from which the celebrant could, during those seasons, select at discretion. The title expressly describes the volume as the "Book of the Sacraments of the Roman Church."

In the last, the Gregorian Sacramentary, in the earliest and purest form in which it occurs, the whole is comprised in a single book; the saints' days are no longer treated as outside the ecclesiastical year, but are ranged as an integral part of it; the collection of masses for Sundays and week-days and the votive masses have disappeared. In the Gelasian there are, as a rule, two collects for each mass (though sometimes three, and sometimes, especially for saints' days, only one); in the Gre-

gorian the rule is a single collect. The special prefaces and variants of the canon, very numerous in the Gelasian, are, with one or two exceptions, those of our present missal. Many traces of an early age, visible in the Gelasian book, and many ritual elaborations, have been swept away. The powerful hand of a reformer has passed over the Roman rite, reducing it to a simplicity which seems baldness in comparison with the earlier superabounding wealth of forms shown in the Leonine and Gelasian books.

It was in this form that Pope Hadrian I., some time between the years 784 and 791, sent to Charles the Great the sacramentary "arranged long ago by our holy predecessor the God-inspired (*Deifluo*) Gregory," as the Pope says in the letter announcing its despatch. But this book was not destined long to remain in the state in which it came from Rome; an addition was soon made to it trebling its bulk, and making it considerably larger indeed than the *Gelasianum*. The compiler of this supplement was careful to insert between the original book and his own compilation a preface giving an account of his work and of his reasons for undertaking it. This preface, as was natural in the case of a mass-book designed for practical use, and not for the satisfaction of literary or antiquarian curiosity, soon fell out of the sacramentary; the two portions continued separate and unmixed for a time, longer here, shorter there, according to the character or ideas of the individual copyist, or of those who directed him. By-and-by, as was inevitable, practical requirements felt by all prevailed over a literary or pious scruple, and the various items of the supplement were inserted at the most convenient places in the original book. Though in an isolated later manuscript a trace of the primitive distinction may still be found, the true *Gregorianum* and the supplement were, by the close of the tenth century, so fused into one whole, that it was impossible to distinguish any longer the component parts of what now passed as the Gregorian Sacramentary. And it is the book thus fused which, practically speaking, forms the Roman missal of the present day.

Unfortunately few liturgists of later times have been careful to observe the distinction between the original book and the additions, and nearly all writers have used the term "Gre-

gorian Sacramentary" to designate, not the book sent to Charles from Rome, but the whole compilation as afterwards enlarged. Now, however, that M. Duchesne has introduced the convenient term *sacramentaire d'Hadrien* for the book sent by that Pope to Charles, it is not likely that the term "Gregorian Sacramentary" will in future be so improperly employed as has been hitherto the case. But a further point is also gained, for it is now possible to enter into the discussion of a much more difficult question, the justice and applicability of the title "Gelasian" and "Gregorian" given to the sacramentaries which pass under these names, and that, not merely as regards the specific question whether they were personally compiled by, or by order of, Gelasius and Gregory, but also whether the missals so called are substantially Roman missals of a date that may be reasonably assigned to the beginning of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh respectively.

And first to take the sacramentary passing under the name of Gregory. The question was raised early in the last century, but with inadequate knowledge of the evidence, whether the *Gregorianum* is not to be attributed rather to Pope Gregory II. (715-731), or Gregory III. (731-741), than to Gregory the Great. Although it is true, as the last editor of the *Gelasianum* points out,* that neither St. Bede nor the *Liber pontificalis* mentions the work, yet this is only a half light, since Bede's disciple, Archbishop Egbert of York (732-766) not merely says that St. Gregory sent his missal book to England by St. Augustine, but that he himself had also inspected this same work of St. Gregory in Rome; moreover, at least half a century earlier, Aldhelm, in referring the canon of the mass to St. Gregory (whose own, as a composition, it certainly was not), gives us clearly enough to understand that the missal he was familiar with came to him as St. Gregory's. Whether the Gregorian mass-book thus known to Egbert and Aldhelm was that which bore this title in Rome about 790, and was sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great, need not here be considered. It is for the present purpose enough to ascertain, on the authority of evidence unknown to the first writer to start the doubt,

* P. lx., note.

that the Gregory to whom the missal was attributed must be Gregory the Great.

By a general acquiescence of the learned, rather than by consent after any specific and recent critical investigation, the *Gelasianum* is commonly allowed to pass, either as an actual production of Pope Gelasius I. (492–496), or at least as dating from about his time. The recent work of Abbé Duchesne, entitled *Origines du culte Chrétien*, has, however, definitely raised the question whether the sacramentary passing under the name “Gelasian,” though incontestably in substance a Roman missal, and the earliest official mass-book of the Roman Church, has yet any right to be considered as the sixth century mass-book of that church. The manuscript itself (which, following Mr. Wilson, it will be convenient to call, from its present resting-place, the Vatican manuscript), by consent of competent palæographers, was written in the seventh century or at the beginning of the eighth, seemingly for the abbey of St. Denis. Examining the manuscript as it stands, Duchesne finds that it does not contain the masses for Thursdays in Lent instituted by Pope Gregory II. (715–731); but it has the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which was doubtless, he thinks, introduced after the recovery of the true Cross by Heraclius in 628. “There is, therefore, an uncertainty of about a century (628–731) as to the date of the Roman original of our sacramentary.” He concludes generally that “it is drawn from official books that were in use at Rome about the end of the seventh century,” and that it “was imported into France some considerable time before Pope Hadrian (772), and some considerable time after St. Gregory” (604). On the other hand the author points out how Roman features have been obliterated from this book: “all Roman topographical indications have disappeared; not one of the Roman basilicas is mentioned.* All prayers relating to certain offices proper to Roman observance, the mass of St. Anastasia on Christmas Day, the Greater Litany (April 25), the processions of the Easter vespers, the collectæ or assemblies at certain feasts have

* For the force of this remark it is enough to refer to the missal now in general use, and the Roman stations therein regularly noted.

been suppressed. It presents the Roman ecclesiastical year, Roman formulæ, but adapted to the use of countries at a distance from Rome." This is not all; it is also marked by numerous Gallican additions and modifications; and such additions are not by way of mere appended supplement, but are woven into the very texture of the book.

The sum, therefore, is this: That the book called the *Gelasianum* represents the (or a) mass-book in use in Rome towards the close of the seventh century. This conclusion is based on the assumption that certain feasts or days now found in the Vatican manuscript must have stood in the Roman original from which that manuscript was derived. The question whether it stands removed by one or more stages from the Roman original, "model or framework rather," and whether it may not be at the least a copy of a copy with many an intermediate alteration derived not merely from Gallican but also from later Roman sources, does not suggest itself in the author's pages; although the effacement of Roman features, and the interweaving of Gallicanisms in the Roman groundwork, are not calculated *prima facie* to recommend the assumption of a direct Roman original.

Of course if there be good reason, drawn from other considerations (of positive testimony there is none), for supposing that a missal of the type represented by the *Gelasianum* was in actual use in Rome at the end of the seventh century, there is less cause to seek for any other explanation of the presence of these feasts of late introduction than the simple one of a direct copy. But for the fact of such use I see no other argument than lies in the positive affirmation. Unquestionably such an assertion on the part of a scholar of M. Duchesne's eminence and proved capacity is sufficient ground for meeting it, not indeed with the mere silence of acquiescence, but with a full consideration and examination of the case conducted with a prepossession in its favour; and not rejecting it until difficulties occur of sufficient force to raise a well-founded doubt whether the author himself has realised all that this assertion on this single point involves of contradiction to the current history of the time.

And first of all, if the *Gelasianum* be a sacramentary in use in Rome at the close of the seventh century, what are we to

think of the *Gregorianum*? M. Duchesne, in another connection, answers the question thus: "It is essentially a book for the stations," in other words, "for use only on festival days or days of solemn assembly"; "it is the Pope's book, it contains the prayers which the Pope has to pronounce at the ceremonies over which he ordinarily presides." The proof for this is, that it gives masses only for feasts, or seasons like Lent and Advent; no masses for ordinary Sundays, no votive masses; nothing for weddings or funerals, or the veiling of virgins, or reconciliation of penitents. Accustomed as we are, and so long have been, to many of these luxuries, this may appear conclusive; but, strange as it may sound to some ears, there is a question to the point which demands an answer:—Why must all these things be found in a Roman missal (say) of the time of St. Gregory the Great? Why, for instance, should St. Gregory deem special masses for these "private solemnities," for rain or fair weather, or Sundays after Pentecost, more necessary than the Greeks do at this day or at any time during the last fifteen hundred years?

Gathering up the indications thrown out by M. Duchesne, we are given to understand that there were in use in Rome at the close of the seventh century two missals, differing widely in their contents, in the character and degree of their variables, in the number of collects at mass, and in the prayers not only of each mass, but also for the sacraments: a smaller missal for the Pope, a much larger book for the rest of the clergy. And here questions arise which demand notice, if not solution, before the novel theory thus broached can be well admitted, questions, however, not in any way touched on by the author. And they are the more urgent inasmuch as they do not proceed from a mere comparison of book and book, or confronting of text and text, written under circumstances of which we know hardly anything by persons of whom we can know still less; but are concerned with the public policy of a great prince like Charlemagne, whose individual attention was largely devoted to what may be called the Department of Public Worship and Instruction; and who, in carrying out a measure in which he was by inclination deeply interested, viz., the introduction of the Roman mass-book throughout his realm, may be presumed to have acted in accordance with

the dictates of sound reason, and in a manner calculated to secure the objects he had in view. Moreover, it is to be noted that Charlemagne, no less than his advisers, was perfectly well acquainted from personal observation with the actual liturgy and observance in Rome. We are naturally led therefore to inquire what at this time (the second half of the eighth century) can have been the position of the *Gelasianum*, said to have been the mass-book of the clergy at the close of the seventh century. If it was still in Charles's day the clergy's mass-book, how came Charles, in the intent to secure uniformity and conformity with Roman practice, to adopt for the use of the clergy throughout his dominions a book not in common use in Rome itself, but proper only for the Pope, adding, moreover, a new supplement unknown in Rome? If, on the other hand, the *Gelasianum* had now fallen into disuse in Rome, and was superseded by the imposition for general use of the imperfect papal mass-book, supplemented by additional offices, Sunday and votive masses, &c., required for ordinary use by the clergy in the parish churches, the action taken is still more inexplicable. We are reduced to conclude that Hadrian failed to send to Charles the supplement to the Gregorian mass-book in use in Rome by the clergy, and Charles in his turn (though constantly sending trusty envoys to the Pope, whose interest it was to comply with his behest, and especially with a demand so little burdensome) failed to ask for that supplement. Or, indeed, is it that the novel theory of the use at the same time in Rome of two different missals has no historical basis, and is no more than a deduction from liturgical texts capable of another explanation, and a deduction also running counter to, and making merely unintelligible, the actions and measures of Charlemagne?

It must be some considerations of this kind which, in penning his article on the *Gelasianum*, prompted Dom Suitbert Bäumer, a monk of Beuron, to write as follows :

Duchesne's way of treating the subject is new and interesting, but also (in some measure) not to the point ; this freshness is attractive, and the respect felt for the talent and learning of the author makes most welcome the light which the reader cannot but hope will be thereby thrown on the subject. When, however, an attempt is made to bring the suggestions

and remarks, scattered here and there, into harmony with the fundamental conditions of the problem that has to be discussed, the reader soon begins to feel that, although Duchesne's text reads easily, yet on examination it is difficult to bring into consistency with ascertained facts the new theory which is rather sketched or shadowed out than developed, much less established. Hence the necessity of finding some other way out of the difficulty at one's own risk and peril.

In the following pages Dom Bäumer's article is drawn on without scruple as a serious attempt to grapple with the difficulties involved in the history of the *Gelasianum*, without knowledge of which it is impossible to form an opinion as to the value of the contribution made to the subject by the Rev. H. A. Wilson's edition recently issued from the Clarendon Press. And, what is of much more general interest, in the history of this *Gelasianum* lies the history of the missal in actual daily use in our churches.

It is to be observed that Duchesne restricts his inquiry to very narrow limits, hardly going beyond the four corners of the book the age of which is to be investigated. But such partial method is not likely to lead to solid and satisfactory results. It is necessary to take a view of the whole of the facts bearing on the subject, and to see what is known, or can be reasonably deduced from authentic documents as to the history and fortunes of this book—a side of the question which, it may be said, has been hitherto almost entirely neglected.

Dom Bäumer gives first an exposition of the facts that can be positively known, proceeding to what must be conjecture and combination only after the conditions of the problem to be solved are distinctly ascertained.

We start with the certain fact of the existence of a sacramentary which, in writers of the first half of the ninth century in France, was commonly known under the name of the "Gelasian." Whether they were right or wrong in so designating the sacramentary, one point at any rate is certain from the very name they gave it—viz., their belief that it was of Roman origin and dated from a time anterior to the ordering of the missal then in use in Rome, attributed to St. Gregory the Great. And here it is well at the commencement to bear in mind a suggestion of common

sense which, in the work of minute critical examination or handling of mere texts, seems only too readily and too commonly forgotten—namely, that if the sacramentary called “Gelasian” had any considerable circulation in the country in which it is so frequently spoken of, that is, the Frankish Empire (in Rome it is not mentioned until a later date), it is in the last degree improbable that the oldest manuscripts now existing were the most ancient then to be found; or to put the case more definitely, it is only reasonable to suppose that, at a time when it was still a living rite, those who first spoke of the *Gelasianum* had in hand manuscripts (perhaps many) older (perhaps much older) than any which have survived not merely the disuse of the rite, but the neglect and innumerable accidents of more than a thousand years.

Was, however, this so-called Gelasian mass-book largely used and widely spread in Gaul? This is a question which Dom Bäumer has been the first to consider in all its bearings; and on the answer to it the whole history of present liturgical practice hinges. On the theories current on the subject, which assume the practical universality of the Gallican rite in Charles’s kingdom in the middle of the eighth century, it has long been a puzzle to read, in an inventory of the church stuff and library of the Abbey of St. Riquier, near Abbeville, dated 831,* that the monastery was provided for church use with nineteen “Gelasian missals,” whilst there were, besides, only three “Gregorian,” and one “Gregorian and Gelasian missal recently arranged by Albinus” (that is, Alcuin). And this is the more singular since the abbot, by whose care the monastery was practically refounded, enriched with ornaments, and furnished with a large collection of books, was Angilbert, son-in-law, friend, counsellor, and minister of Charles, and intimately mixed up in the measures, secular and especially religious, of that great and autocratic ruler. In a now lost library catalogue of Cologne of the year 833, there was mention of a Gelasian missal; two others are found more than a century later in the library of Lorsch, near Worms. But it is not merely in the libraries of

* The list of books is, doubtless, like that of church stuff, in the main a repetition of one taken in the first years of the century. Unfortunately, Angilbert’s own list of that date, whilst detailed as to church stuff, only gives the number of the books.

monasteries or cathedrals that there is evidence of its use; it is also found in obscure country villages. The inventories of half a dozen such churches in the diocese of Rheims, taken about the year 850, still exist. Of these six churches, three have only a "Gregorian" missal; two possess both a "Gregorian" and a "Gelasian" book;* in the sixth the Gelasian book alone was in use. It is to be remembered that of the documents most proper to reveal to us the actual state of things in this matter—inventories—not more than fifteen now exist, dating from the ninth century, out of hundreds, or more probably many thousands, actually taken; whilst the somewhat less rare library catalogues are generally sparing in distinguishing the kinds of missals they more often mention than particularly describe. It is worthy of notice also that in the extant lists, whether of churches or libraries, there is not a single mention of a book to be plausibly identified with a "Gallican" missal. Account must also be taken of manuscripts, which (as will be seen later) must certainly belong to the class of missals called in the inventories Gelasian. The oldest, the Vatican MS., first published by Tomasi, and now re-edited by Mr. Wilson, was of Paris; another seems to come from the "north of France;"† another apparently from the eastern districts of the present Switzerland. Of manuscripts less well known, but without doubt falling into this pre-Gregorian class, one occurs at Gellone, or St. Guillem du Désert, near Aniane, north-west of Montpellier, others at Angoulême, and probably at Reichenau on the lake of Constance.‡ There is therefore documentary evidence of the existence, previous to the ninth century, and in an earlier or later form, of the book designated "Gelasian" along the whole north and eastern portions of Charlemagne's Frankish kingdom; and also traces, though much fewer and less marked, in those south-western districts comprising the kingdom of Aquitaine.

An item in the inventory of St. Riquier now calls for atten-

* There can be no doubt that the "missale cum evangeliis et lectionibus" at Vieil-St.-Remy was a Gregorian book.

† The Martyrology in the same volume, on which this conclusion is based, seems to point to the district of the present Belgian provinces of Hainaut and Namur; and with this the Irish indications also well accord.

‡ Mone's manuscripts of "shortened Gregorian" books evidently belong to the Gelasian class (*Lateinische und Griechische Messen*, p. 122 seqq.) In Addit. MS. 29,276 is a Gelasian scrap of the eighth century.

tion, the "Gregorian and Gelasian missal recently arranged by Alcuin." Alcuin had not merely been, as abbot of St. Josse-sur-Mer, a neighbour (somewhat of an absentee neighbour doubtless) of the monastery of St. Riquier, but his letters also show that he was a friend and intimate of the house, and that he had been engaged for the monks in revising, in accordance with the more correct taste of the time, the barbarous style of the old life of their founder, St. Richarius; so that we can be under no temptation to think that when the monks of St. Riquier attributed to Alcuin (an old and close friend also of their own abbot Angilbert) the compilation of a missal in their own possession, they were speaking on mere report or otherwise than by real and personal knowledge of the facts.* What, then, is this Gelasiano-Gregorian compilation for which Alcuin is responsible? Here it is well to adopt Dom Bäumer's own words:

The Gregorian sacramentary has not come down to us without change in just the form in which it was sent by Hadrian to Charles. All known manuscripts show an edition of the Gregorianum largely augmented from other sources. All "Gregorian" books, whether they bear Gregory's name on the title, or whether they are merely designated as "Roman," amidst infinite variety in minor details, show practically the same body of texts and order of prayers. In a word, one and only one edition of Pope Hadrian's Gregorianum now exists—an edition enriched with additional matter and adapted to usages widely spread in the Frankish kingdom; and in this form only was the Gregorianum naturalised among the Frankish clergy and people.

It has already been pointed out that this enlarged Gregorian sacramentary exists in manuscripts which for the present purpose may be divided into three classes: (1) Those in which the additional matter is kept distinct and separate from the original matter by a preface, and frequently a detailed list of the additions; (2) manuscripts in which, though the original matter and the additions are still kept separate, yet the preface and list of chapters, which in the former class draw so clear and unmistakable line of division, have disappeared; (3) the largest and ever-increasing class, in which the sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian is fused with the additions so as to form an

* It is not at all improbable that the book list comes from the very hand of Angilbert, a special affection for whom Alcuin's letters so abundantly testify.

indivisible whole which it is no longer possible to resolve into its constituent elements.

The preface, therefore, in which the compiler of the supplement gives an account of his work and of the reasons for it, is a document which *prima facie* has the strongest claims to an attentive hearing; the more so inasmuch as it is a case of the rarest occurrence to find an actual account by the author himself of a liturgical compilation. A Quignon, a Robinet, has let us into his confidence; Cranmer has explained the leading ideas which led him to substitute the Book of Common Prayer for the missal. But these are, after all, matters of quite sectional interest compared with the constitution of this Carolingian mass-book, which, a comparatively short time after its appearance, became, and has to this day continued, the great official prayer-book of the whole Western Church. The fate of the preface, and its neglect by the learned, has been singular. In all the early manuscripts it is anonymous; but when first printed, in 1571, the editor, Pamelius, on the authority of a single manuscript of a date so late as the eleventh century, attached to it the name of a personage who died nearly a century after the introduction of the *Gregorianum* into France.* Dom Ménard was the first, some seventy years later, to examine it with attention; and he could find no better course than to reject it as "absurd," because it ran counter to certain not unnatural prejudices as to what a Roman mass-book of the eighth century ought to be. Ernst Ranke was the first to restore the credit of the preface by taking it seriously, and was rewarded for his pains by many a valuable hint. Duchesne has somewhat too hastily thrown over the preface entirely to the care of a future historian of the *Gregorianum*. To Dr. Probst it is difficulty and darkness. It is singular that centuries have been allowed to pass, and that still a full examination of this document should have been omitted. But here, as in the case of many another episode of liturgical history, the tendency among persons engaged in these inquiries is only too marked to take up a position in some

* The book of Pamelius still remains the only one which shows the preface in its proper place in the sacramentary; and even his print gives names not warranted by the manuscripts. It seems unnecessary to burden the discussion any further with the names of Rodradus and Grimoldus, which may be considered as disposed of.

corner of ritual research, to the neglect of the wise warning of one who spoke with the knowledge that comes from experience: "We must penetrate into history if, in the subject of liturgy, we are to arrive at clearness, fixity, certainty, in our conclusions."

Let us then see what the compiler, to whom we owe our present Missal, and much else in the Pontifical and Ritual, has to say for himself. It is this. "The foregoing sacramentary (*sacramentorum libellus*) up to this point is known to have been put forth (*constat esse editus*) by the Blessed Pope Gregory, except those items which the reader will find marked at the beginning with a dagger (*virgula*), the Nativity and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, but chiefly in Lent"; also the mass of St. Gregory. Moreover, by the carelessness of scribes, the text had become corrupt, so that the book (*libellus*) was no longer in the state in which it had left St. Gregory's hands (*ut ab authore suo est editus*). This defect, he says, he has made good, and corrected; and he appeals with considerable confidence to his work as proof that he had restored the original and true reading (*quem cum prudens lector studiose perlegerit verum nos dicere ilico comprobabit*). First of all, then, it is clear that the writer had submitted the sacramentary sent from Rome to a critical examination; that (although this was unnecessary for practical purposes) his scholarly instincts, combined perhaps with a veneration for the great St. Gregory, induced him, without moving them from their proper place in the book, to distinguish by a mark later additions from the work of Gregory himself; moreover, he restored the text to what he felt assured was its original purity. The writer does not here state in so many words that he used earlier manuscripts to correct the current Roman edition; but in view of the terms he uses, of the delicate circumstances attending the correction of a liturgical book proceeding from such an "author," of his care to mark later insertions (and those who are best acquainted with the uncertainty attending the date of the introduction of new feasts into particular churches will best estimate the difficulty of that task), it is not unreasonable to suppose that the revision was conducted on the lines of collation with older manuscripts, and that the reviser had means within his reach for such collation. These processes were perfectly well known at the time; and

the value of older or good manuscripts was perfectly well appreciated.

After describing his work on the Gregorian sacramentary, the writer proceeds to give an account of the supplement added by himself :

But since there are other materials which Holy Church necessarily (*necessario*) uses, and which the aforesaid Father [Gregory] left aside (*praetermisit*), seeing that they had been already put forth by others, we have thought it worth while to gather them like spring flowers of the meadows, and collect them together, and place them in this book apart, but corrected and amended and headed with their titles, so that the reader may find in this work all things which we have thought necessary for our times, although we had found a great many also embodied in other sacramentaries (*sacramentorum libellis*).^{*} But for the purpose of separation we have placed this little preface in the middle, so that it may form the close of one book [Gregory's] and the beginning of the other [his own]; to the intent that, one book being before the preface and the other after it [*hinc inde formabiliter eisdem, positis libellis*], every one may know what was put forth by Blessed Gregory and what by other Fathers. . . . Let the reader be assured that we have inserted nothing but what has been written with great accuracy and care by men of excellent learning and the highest repute (*nisi ea quae a probatissimis et eruditissimis magna diligentia exarata sunt viris*).

After stating that he had given a collection of special mass prefaces at the end of the book, he continues: "We also add the benedictions to be said by the bishop over the people; also, what is not to be found in the aforesaid book of Blessed Gregory, ordination forms for minor orders."

The materials, therefore, for this supplement, *ex multis multa*, as he says, were gathered by the writer from other missals, but he took the pains to give as correct a text as possible. A certain embarrassment of tone is observable as soon as he comes to speak of this his own work; as, indeed, it was a strong measure to add for official liturgical use an

* The recent editor is of opinion that, if there had been a general belief that the main body of the "Gelasian" sacramentary was really due to St. Gelasius, the compiler of the supplement would not have refrained from citing the authority of St. Gelasius for the forms which he transferred from the older sacramentaries to his own compilation (p. lxi.). In view of the mixed character of the supplement (which the compiler doubtless recognised more completely than we can do), the expectation of a special mention of Gelasius savours of the unreason of the over-scrupulous critic. As we open the book the very first documents which meet the eye are pieces which could not be "Gelasian," or indeed Roman at all, but are drawn from Gallican sources.

appendix of prayers, selected on individual judgment, to a sacramentary believed to be the actual work of one at that time so greatly venerated as Gregory the Great, and an appendix, too, of about twice the length of Gregory's whole book. The suggestion that St. Gregory omitted the offices given in the appendix "because he saw that they had been already put forth by others," will not bear examination. And, indeed, the writer passes on quickly from St. Gregory's intentions to others with which he must have been much better acquainted, his own. "*We*" saw that these additions were "necessary for our times," he says; he also says it is true that "holy Church necessarily uses them," but goes on to explain, as we shall see, that by this latter "necessity" he only means, "if you are bent on using these forms you may, but there is no necessity in the sense of need, for St. Gregory's *libellus* is a sufficient missal without my additions."

This is how he develops his own intentions in compiling the supplement:

And as we thought it was not at all decent or possible to pay no regard to the wishes of those who look to find these so excellent and varied holy observances (*et quoniam excludendos tantarum quaesitores variarumque institutionum sanctarum nequaquam dignum vel possibile esse censuimus*), we would at any rate satisfy the most worthy desires of all these persons by the present abundant collection. If it please any one to accept what, without any desire of imposing ourselves on others (*sine fastu arrogantiae*), we have collected with pious affection and the greatest care, we beg him not to be of mind ungrateful for our toil, but with us to render thanks to the Giver of all good things. But if he consider our collection a superfluity and not necessary for himself, let him use the work of the aforesaid Father alone, which in not a tittle may he reject without peril to himself; and let him also tolerate those who demand [our supplement] and wish piously to use it. For, not for the thankless and the scornful, but for the zealous and the devout have we brought together this collection in which he to whom these prayers are dear and familiar (*cui animo sedent*) may find whence he may worthily and with a mind unruffled* pay to our Lord his due vows, and perform the service of divine worship. . . . Moreover, we entreat those to whom they are acceptable, to receive with charity the collection of prefaces added at the end of the volume, and sing them; but we beg

* *Placabiliter*. It may be said "in a way pleasing to God" would be more exact; but, even so, the idea would, after all, be no other than that given in the text. Persons who recall the circumstances issuing in the establishment of the Romano-Lyonese use will be well able to enter into the sense of *placabiliter* here.

they be neither adopted nor sung by those who, understanding them do not like them, or who willing to receive them do not understand them."*

The writer ends by asking copyists of his volume to pray for him who had taken so much care for the benefit of many, and—a last request—"pray copy correctly, or else my diligent emendation will have been in vain."

What is the value of this document, what is its real meaning, and what is its authorship? The author, though he has been careful to suppress his name, and to give no direct indication of his rank and position, and has only shown that he was at all events a scholar, must have been a person of the highest consideration. For this the facts themselves speak. In this recension, and in this recension only, was the Gregorian sacramentary adopted, in accordance with the will of Charles the Great, throughout his empire. This recension spread immediately, and at some period, which may perhaps never be ascertainable, though doubtless during the course of the ninth century it was adopted by the Roman Church, thus explaining the existence of so many Gallican features in the present Roman rite. Humble as is the tone, and simple as are the words of the compiler, there can be nothing less than supreme power in the background. No work of private venture, dependent for adoption on the mere appreciation or taste of individuals could, in those days of parchment and written books, have obtained within a few decades so universal and so exclusive a recognition. It was an official undertaking, and it is hardly too much to call the preface *Hucusque* a State paper of the time.

To understand the full force and value of the document it is necessary to scan its words closely, and note the meaning that underlies its smooth and apologetic phrases. (1) It appears that the use of the *Gregorianum* was not to be optional; whatever else was used, or not used, the book sent by Hadrian to Charles must be. On this point a note is struck quite out of accord with the tenor of the rest of the document; here for a moment the veil is lifted, and the force behind is seen—"reject it at your peril." This was to be the

* Cf. "Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere." So Charles, in his circular letter, *De litteris colendis*, issued between 780 and 800.

book of the future at any rate. (2) However the writer, in freeing himself from consideration of the *Gregorianum* and passing on to his own work, may have found it convenient to speak of the offices in his supplement being "necessarily" used in the Church, the sequel makes it perfectly clear that the use of the supplement was to be considered optional, and according to the discretion of the individual, and the *libellus* of the Blessed Pope Gregory is contemplated as a mass-book complete in itself, and containing all that was needful. (3) The writer leaves us in no doubt as to the reasons for the compilation and its object. Habit and tradition had rooted in the minds and hearts of the clergy these masses and solemn observances which he had gathered so amply from other sacramentaries; the compiler knew this as a fact, *animo credent*, and the extraordinary success which has attended his work is the best proof that his words are true, and that the "seekers" after these "so excellent and varied holy observances" were a powerful majority.

And who was the compiler? It is evident from the circumstances of the case that it can be no one else than a man in direct relation with governing circles, in other words in the confidence of Charlemagne himself. Moreover, only to a scholar of the first rank would he entrust a task vastly more important than the compilation of the book of homilies which he assigned to Paul Warnefrid, a man only second in eminence to Alcuin. Only two or three men can suggest themselves as fit instruments for such a task, which was hardly less important than the revision of the Biblical text itself. And no name occurs more readily or more reasonably to the mind than that of Alcuin. If earlier and better manuscripts were required, who so likely to be acquainted with these as the former head of the school at York—whence, a few years later, he drew manuscripts to aid him in his revision of the Bible, who well knew, too, the richly-stored and, as yet, intact English libraries largely gathered from Rome and Italy in the course of the seventh century. Moreover, a spirit makes itself felt in the preface characteristic of the Alcuin who reveals himself in his correspondence, betraying an almost nervous anxiety to be beforehand with friction, to lessen risk of conflict. When it is found, moreover, on contemporary

testimony above suspicion, that Alcuin in fact carried out such a work as a combination of the Gregorian and Gelasian, the newer and older Roman sacramentaries, little doubt can remain as to the answer to the question, who is the author of the preface *Hucusque*, and who is the compiler of the supplement attached to the *Gregorianum* sent by Pope Hadrian I. to Charles the Great.* Just as, later, Alcuin was chosen by Charles to carry out a correction of the Bible which was meant to issue in the disuse of the ancient versions and in a certain uniformity of the copies of the sacred text in future, so too the same scholar was chosen by Charles for the task of preparing a corrected text of the mass-book in use in Rome, to be imposed for the purpose of securing a greater liturgical uniformity and conformity with actual Roman practice throughout his dominions, and with the further task of facilitating the adoption of the new mass-book by the addition of a supplement, giving a selection of older materials, for the most part Roman, which had fallen into disuse in Rome, but had maintained themselves in the realm of the Franks, modified indeed and fused with Gallican elements. The words of M. Samuel Berger in describing Alcuin's work on the Bible may be fitly adapted to the present case. A Visigoth such as Theodulph of Orleans, independent in mind and character, and son of a land which had for centuries been separated from the rest of Gaul, must remain a stranger in the empire of Charlemagne. The discipline and perseverance (it may be added, the practical sense) of an Anglo-Saxon, such as Alcuin, could better serve the powerful will and clear thought of such a prince as Charles the Great. In liturgy, after Alcuin, all is changed; a levelling hand has passed over the particularism that before prevailed; liturgical texts assume a more uniform

* As to Alcuin's personal opinion on the desirability of new liturgical compilations, as such, his letter to Archbishop Eanbald of York is explicit enough. Eanbald's desire for a newly arranged missal may have been not improbably prompted by what was taking place under the direction of Charlemagne. "Have you not," he says, "an abundance of *libelli sacrorum* arranged in the Roman fashion? You have also enough larger sacramentaries of the older use. What need is there to draw up new when the old suffice?" (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. p. 508.) But Alcuin, with all his qualities, had, like Erasmus, a strong sense of the value of powerful and paying patronage. It was not an Alcuin who would directly thwart the will of Charles the Great in a matter such as this. The passage is also interesting as showing the existence at York of both Gelasian and Gregorian books at this time.

tenor, their colour is less varied and local. The older liturgies have almost everywhere been put out of use, and the copies of the missal become uniform, under reserve of course of very numerous variations of detail and continual minor alterations. But at least this result was achieved; since Alcuin, the only missal in use is the Gelasiano-Gregorian compilation. The older liturgies, the pure Roman, the Gallican, and at length the Mozarabic disappear, to give place to a common and universally accepted rite based as its main factor on Roman observance. And that is what Charlemagne had willed should be. In a word, it is the Englishman Alcuin who has been the instrument to settle the structure and tenor henceforth of the liturgy of the Western Church.

The interest of the discussion is, however, deeper than such as may concern a mere personal question; nor for Catholics, indeed, is it the disinterment of the mere fossils of a buried past. In this London of the present day we are still "Gelasian," "Gregorian," "Gallican," though it may be unawares. At the Oratory on Holy Saturday, we may still hear the lessons "according to Gelasius"; at Haverstock Hill, "according to Gregory"; and at both a blessing of the paschal candle, which neither in word nor deed is any part of the genuine Roman rite at all, but an importation of the most popular Gallican form. These existent anomalies lead us back to what is the turning point in the development of Western liturgy. The considerations which have been dwelt on enable us at last to realise the import of those frequent notices of the existence of the "Gelasian" missal which meet us through the whole region from the shores of the Northern sea along the German frontier up to the borders of north-eastern Italy, and to form some adequate idea of the prevalence in the Frankish kingdom of this earlier type of Roman missal. Only one interpretation can be put on plain and patent facts. On the one hand, stands Charles's desire for uniformity, by means of a greater conformity with the practice of the Apostolic See, in observance, in song, in rites, as part of a policy long and steadily pursued. On the other hand, we have (what is in itself a derogation from the desired ideal) the compilation of an addition to the Roman missal sent to him, an addition made on the express ground that those who are to use this missal will look for and demand the masses, offices,

functions contained in the supplement and largely drawn from the *Gelasianum*. The conclusion is inevitable that this earlier Roman mass-book was, at the close of the eighth century, the dominant rite throughout these regions which formed the backbone of the Carolingian monarchy and main seat of power of the ruling house, and that the Gallican rite had in these quarters by slow degrees given place to it; though that rite very probably still remained, in a great measure, the use of those south-western districts of France which were a dependent rather than a ruling fraction of the kingdom.

But can the book thus entitled, whether rightly or wrongly, "Gelasian" be identified with any extant manuscript? The so-called Leonine sacramentary, though Roman, is a mere collection of materials; and confronted with Alcuin's supplement, shows that it cannot be the book sought for. Besides the Gregorian, there is only one other book which claims to be the book of the sacraments, or missal of the Roman Church, the earliest manuscript of which, and the only one known of that recension, is now re-edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson. Comparing the text of this book and the supplement, it is evident that Alcuin derived a large proportion of his material from a book belonging to this class, and that here we have in substance one of the "Gelasian" missals mentioned in the ninth century, which, previous to that date, had become denizen in Gaul.

In the light of the facts thus ascertained, we may revert to the remarks of M. Duchesne on this manuscript, and his statement that it was copied from a Roman original some time between the years 628 and 731. It seems to be overlooked in some quarters that after all Duchesne only touches on this question of the particular *Gelasianum* so far as his immediate purpose requires, and that in the vagueness so common in the treatment of liturgical questions it is very necessary to recall to inquirers such simple facts as data to work back from; and it is not the fault of that writer, whose whole book teaches quite another lesson, if a starting-point is by some readers taken for the conclusion of the whole matter. But what is now in question is a point which Duchesne does not discuss, viz., when did the Gelasian book first find its way into Gaul? And here it would seem that the mere obvious facts of the case postulate

that this must have taken place at some date considerably earlier than the age of the oldest existing manuscript, namely at the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. The space of some seventy, eighty, or hundred years is far too limited to allow of so wide a spread in the Frankish kingdom of a new and non-native mass-book. The period 650-750 was largely, too, one of civil disturbance and foreign invasion, with a weakened central authority, or with rulers, civil and ecclesiastical alike, interesting themselves not overmuch in ecclesiastical life or the progress of religion. In this case the book imported from abroad was imposed by neither statesman and prelate nor by monarch. No record is left of the gradual steps by which the *Gelasianum* obtained so wide a popularity on this side of the Alps; we are confronted with the completed fact, which has to be explained by such general considerations as a knowledge of the times and the then common mode of procedure show to be just. Whether the initiative came from above or below, from bishop or individual priest or abbot, zealous for novelty, or prepossessed by education or taste for the fashions of Rome, we know not. A large freedom then existed in such matters. It may be that the book thus brought from Rome was more methodised, more complete than any that at the time was in use in Gaul; the extant Gallican books make this not unlikely; and thus, quite apart from its origin, it may have had in itself, in the eyes of those who adopted it, a strong practical recommendation. It must have thus spread from church to church, diocese to diocese, left to make its own way by steps that cannot now be determined; and in its progress incorporating elements derived from rites already existing in these regions, and in its turn contributing elements to the mass-books already there in use. And this consideration again furnishes striking evidence how widely the Roman books must have been spread in the Frankish kingdom already in the seventh century, and shows in what manner they were appreciated.* Four extant missals of that or the immediately succeeding age have hitherto passed as representing the liturgy of the Gallican rite.† Just as Gallican

* The question of any influence of the *Gregorianum* in France in the seventh century and first half of the eighth is a subject which deserves a special and minute investigation.

† I say nothing of the pure Gallican masses first edited by Fr. J. Mone,

elements are found fused with the original Roman book in the earliest manuscript of the *Gelasianum* so in these "Gallican" missals, on the Gallican foundation there have been worked in Roman prayers, Roman offices, in a way which shows that in those centuries it is no longer correct to speak in the strict sense of the Gallican rite in these Gallic lands, but at most of a Romanised Gallican, so deeply are the only extant books penetrated with Romanism. We may take them one by one according to the summary account of the case as given by Duchesne. First, in the so-called *Missale Gallicum*, or sacramentary of Autun, the purest of the four, "all the formulæ are arranged according to the order of the Gallican mass; but many of them (as regards the text), especially in the masses in honour of the saints, are Roman formulæ." Secondly, in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, "there is, as in the Autun sacramentary, a large proportion of Roman elements." Thirdly, in the so-called *Missale Francorum*, which in the thirteenth century was preserved in the Abbey of St. Denis, the Roman element is so strong and the Gallican so subordinate, that M. Duchesne has removed it from the series of Gallican books in order to class it with the Roman. As regards the fourth manuscript, the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, or missal of Bobbio, the masses contained in it show Gallican formulæ up to the preface. Henceforward they appear to have been said according to "the Roman form given at the beginning of the book."*

On review we find, therefore: (1) actual evidence of the *Gelasianum* in use in a wide stretch of the Frankish kingdom; (2) its use to a large extent in the compilation of the supplement to the *Gregorianum*; (3) the statement of the compiler that this was done because the book thus used was so popular; (4) evidence of its influence in all extant missals of

which belong to an earlier period. The Reichenau MS. 253 at Karlsruhe is a palimpsest; the leaves of a Gallican *libellus missalis* have been used for copying the commentary of Jerome on St. Matthew. This copy was made partly before the end of the seventh century, partly in the eighth. Delisle (*Anciens Sacramentaires*, No. viii.) has taken the age of the Jerome manuscript for the age of the mass-book; Duchesne (*Origines*, p. 145) simply quotes Delisle. Mone considers the mass book to have been written in any case not later than the middle of the sixth century (*Lateinische und Gr. Messen*, pp. 10, 151-152).

* There can be now no doubt that the missal is of Irish compilation, not improbably at Bobbio itself. Duchesne was not aware of the intimate connection between it and the original portion of the Stowe missal.

the Gallican rite of the seventh and eighth centuries. To whichever side of the problem we turn, we are met with the same evidence, clear and unmistakable, of this widely-spread Romanising tendency in the liturgy of Gallican churches in the seventh and eighth centuries, and already not in slight and modest beginnings, but in an advanced stage of development. Until the day shall come when, by discovery of new or unexpected sources of information, we are assured of a sudden outbreak of enthusiasm for Roman rites and practices in the Frankish kingdom some time during the course of the seventh century—a revolution of which there is no trace in the historical monuments of that age—we must have recourse to an explanation consonant both with the dictates of good sense and with what is known as to the methods of the time, and postulate a period long enough to allow of the gradual extension and popularisation of the new rite, bringing its introduction into connection with the efforts of so many Gallican Councils of the sixth century to effect at once a greater liturgical uniformity at home and in some respects an approximation to the practices existing in Rome. A full and deliberate survey of all the circumstances of the case leads to the conclusion of F. J. Mone (who was almost the first to insist on the necessity of carrying on liturgical investigations with a continual reference to the history of the time), that the introduction of the *Gelasianum* into Gaul must be thrown back into the sixth century. And indeed this is a conclusion in no wise contradicted by the internal evidence of the earliest extant manuscript of that missal which evidently embodies a discipline, order and rite well corresponding with that age.*

* There exists, so far as I know, the description of only one missal of the sixth century, a missal compiled by Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna (546–556, 7); the account is given, too, by a thorough-paced antiquary who had himself examined it. It was evidently in two books—one *per anni circulum*, the second for masses of saints—and omitted the votive masses which comprise the bulk of the third book in the *Gelasianum*, the cotidian masses (in which those for Sundays may be included) being placed in the first book. Maximian (says Agnellus, the biographer of the Archbishops of Ravenna, writing about the year 840), “edidit missales per totum circulum anni et sanctorum omnium. Cotidianis namque et quadragesimalibus temporibus vel quidquid ad ecclesiae ritum pertinet, omnia ibi sine dubio invenietis.” He says these *missales* formed a goodly volume “grande volumen” (*M. G. SS. rer. Langob.* p. 332). The writer’s Latin is his own, and is untouched by the Carolingian revival, and he is magniloquent; but his meaning is clear enough; and whilst it is impossible to bring this description into agreement with

The most recent editor of the older (or Vatican) manuscript of "The Gelasian Sacramentary," just issued by the Clarendon Press, the Rev. H. A. Wilson, has already laid those who are interested in liturgical studies under an obligation by his most useful index to the Roman sacramentaries. It was not the editor's intention to produce a definitive edition, but merely to provide "a text more convenient and more accessible than those of the earlier editions, and more accurate than that which is included in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*." But he has done a great deal more than this. Besides a new collation of the Vatican manuscript by another hand, the editor has himself examined and collated two of the more recent manuscripts (those of Rheinau and St. Gallen), the contents of which were already printed by Gerbert, but in a manner which makes his print almost useless. A slight amount of help has also been obtained from other sources; and printed texts of missals of the eighth or ninth century, and sometimes of later date, have been drawn upon to a much greater extent than by the last editor, Vezzosi. The large body of variants thus obtained is ranged after each section; * in the outer margin of the text are references to other sacramentaries in which each prayer may be found, and in the inner margin is given the pagination of Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus*; whilst there is a special note of items also found in the *Gregorianum*. It may be said, shortly, that the editor has been ingenious in providing for the convenience of those who use his volumes. The Appendix (pp. 317-371), giving an exact account of the contents of the Rheinau and St. Gallen manuscripts (also carefully described in the Introduction), is not the least valuable portion of the book. These manuscripts, both of the eighth century, no longer show a division of the sacramentary into books; but, as in the *Gregorianum*, the feasts of saints are now incorporated in the ecclesiastical year so as to form one series, whilst, on the other hand, the portions of the earlier

either the Leonine or Gregorian books, it accords easily enough with the Gelasian type.

* Seeing that the notes on each section are commonly twenty, thirty, sometimes sixty, and even more, it would have been a considerable saving both of time and eyesight had the variants been placed at the foot of each page and kept separate from the substantial notes. But this, perhaps, was a matter depending on the Press rather than the Editor.

recension relating to the sacraments is eliminated and designed to be cast into a second part or appendix. They also give that full series of Sundays after Pentecost, an arrangement unknown in Rome until after the adoption of the Carolingian sacramentary arranged by Alcuin. The volume, therefore, presents the Gelasian Sacramentary in two stages of development, namely, the form in which it is found in France at the close of the seventh century (the Vatican MS.), and at the close of the eighth (the MSS. of Rheinau and St. Gallen); thus giving an earlier and a later recension.

There remains to be considered the question, what addition Mr. Wilson's volume makes to our knowledge of the earliest mass-book of the Roman Church. For the investigation of the earliest stages and changes of that book, the information he gives as to the two manuscripts of the later recension shows that the value of this recension is but slight; it is still to criticism exercised on the older manuscript here reprinted that we must look for the reconstruction, more or less certain, of the phase of the Roman liturgy lying between the collection of materials called the Leonine sacramentary and the book of St. Gregory. Mr. Wilson, with perhaps a natural prepossession in favour of manuscripts over which he has spent so much labour, seems inclined, so far as may be gathered from a guarded preface, to appraise the later books at a much higher rate. The suggestion continually recurs in his Introduction that the older recension of the *Gelasianum* offers a corrupted form of this type of mass-book, and that a truer and more genuine form is to be recovered by means of the later recension as shown in the Rheinau and St. Gallen manuscripts.

So far as can be gathered the cause of the editor's general dissatisfaction with the older *Gelasianum* seems chiefly to lie in a want of orderliness in its arrangement, and of just correspondence between the titles of the three separate books and their actual contents. Instead of exhibiting at least the first lines of a "pontifical" or a "ritual," in which "episcopal functions" and the sacraments should be conveniently collected together apart from the masses for the round of the year, this manuscript gives ordinations, preparation of catechumens, rites of baptism, intercalated or "grafted" among the masses of the year, "where there is no obvious reason for their presence, and

where they interrupt the order and natural sequence of the sacramentary"*—*i.e.*, of the masses. Moreover, the ordinations are not placed all together, but lie scattered through various parts of the first book, and at the end of the second devoted to the masses of saints' days.

But here certain considerations which should govern our opinion generally in this matter have been overlooked by the writer. First, so far as mere "order" in liturgical books is concerned, it has been, in fact, the very slow growth of ages; and the oldest extant mass-books (Gregory's excepted) show at most but the outlines of order. What is more important, the writer apparently does not realise how a changed discipline, and the settled change of feeling resulting from a long familiarity with modern practice, has affected our very ideas of what is or is not "order" in this matter. In the fifth and sixth centuries, just as the bishop was regarded as the ordinary minister of the sacraments or indeed of all the rites of the Church, so too the sacraments of baptism and holy orders were not regarded as isolated functions, but formed an integral part of the as yet rudimentary ecclesiastical year; and this very feature of episcopal functions incorporated in the very body of the missal is precisely what we should be prepared to expect as normal in a book which was really of an early date. Finally, some features (by no means all) which strike Mr. Wilson as anomalies are capable of explanation. Among the most considerable articles which seem to him out of place there are those which, like the forms for the consecration of a church, or for conferring minor orders, are Gallican, and therefore were not in the original Roman book. Others, like the forms of consecration of bishops, or veiling of virgins, were doubtless in it, but they could not be fixed to any special time in the ecclesiastical year. Both classes had to be "got in" somehow; and I venture to think that this operation (from the point of view taken in those days, not in our own) was performed in a manner as satisfactory as could be expected.†

* Introduction, p. xxxviii.

† It is here that prints giving the text as in the manuscripts are of service; only so can we adequately realise the almost helpless condition in which people then addressed themselves, in the Frankish lands at least, to literary tasks. In reading a work like the history of Gregory of Tours, not for facts but for mere "literature," we feel, not merely the wrestle with language,

Mr. Wilson definitely urges only one particular point to show that the earlier manuscript now re-edited by himself is not merely corrupt, but is to be corrected by manuscripts of the later recension. This case we must now examine in detail. As a preparation for baptism at Easter there were held in the Roman Church during Lent a number of assemblies of candidates for baptism called "scrutinies," which were in fact a series of combined instructions and examinations of the catechumens. Three steps of these scrutinies* were of a specially solemn or formal character; one was entitled "at the opening of the ears," "in aurium apertione," in which the beginning of each of the four Gospels was read before the assembled catechumens, and in the two others was given a fixed and ritual explanation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. In the older recension of the *Gelasianum* the masses for the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent are entitled "for the scrutinies," and have direct reference to the *electi* or catechumens. Immediately following these masses in the manuscript are formulæ for the "scrutinies," and among them the forms "in aurium apertione," and for the tradition of the Creed and Lord's Prayer. In the later recension, as represented by the Rheinau and St. Gallen manuscripts, instead of masses relating to the *electi*, as in the older manuscript, there are assigned to the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent masses having no reference whatever to the catechumens, and nearly resembling those in our present missal; of course the titles as to the "scrutinies" have also here disappeared. Moreover, the Rheinau manuscript, omitting altogether the forms of the three solemn scrutinies, throws into an appendix at the end of the ecclesiastical year the three masses for those Sundays found in the older (Vatican) manuscript, and adds to them an *Ordo Baptisterii*, which gathers together in one conspectus and as one whole, the other elements relating to baptism to be found in detached parts in the latter manuscript.

but the struggle with thought required to express the writer's meaning at all. The seventh century was in a still worse plight; and it is now almost a task to realise how difficult it then was to see clearly or to think clearly, even in simple matters.

* Duchesne (*Origines*, p. 290) taking a seventh-century recension, the so-called *Ordo Romanus VII.*, represents these three ceremonies as taking place on one and the same day. But it is now possible to carry the "transposition chronologique" further back.

What conclusion is to be drawn from these facts ?

The inference [says Mr. Wilson] from these facts seems perfectly clear. The compiler of the Vatican (the older) manuscript had before him an *Ordo Baptisterii*, agreeing closely with that contained in the Rheinau manuscript, though perhaps including certain things not to be found in the Rheinau book.* But instead of transcribing it as a continuous whole, he divided it [in order] to graft the several portions of it into the sacramentary at convenient points (p. xxxviii); [and accordingly] the *Missae* for the "scrutinies" are placed among the Lent *Missae*, and assigned to the third, fourth and fifth Sunday of Lent. The hallowing of the font and the actual order of baptism are placed among the sections relating to Easter, while the rubric, which in the Rheinau manuscript follows the order of baptism, and directs that the order at Pentecost is to be the same as at Easter, is in the Vatican manuscript placed after the *missa* for the Sunday before Pentecost, and has carried along with it into this place the forms for the Baptism of the Sick, which in the Rheinau sacramentary also follow the rubric, but there form a natural appendix to the first part of the *Ordo Baptisterii* (pp. xxxvii-xxxviii).

The contention here really is that the form which is so ordered as better to accord with our present notions is the earlier. But the determination of the question whether the manuscript of later date or the older Vatican manuscript better preserves the genuine form, depends upon a question which the latest editor of the *Gelasianum* does not seem to have put to himself, and that is—Which is more in accordance with the discipline of (say) the fifth century, a series of separate stages of initiation carried over some weeks as part of the course of the ecclesiastical year, or an order in which the rite in its various stages is thrown into one whole so as to form a single office ?

He has, in matters which should be fairly obvious, looked at the case from exactly the wrong point of view, and mistaken what is old for what is new, and what is new for what is old. The ancient baptismal rite and the preparations for it (as exemplified also in the Vatican manuscript of the *Gelasianum*)

* On these words there is the following note : "The form of Confirmation may have been included in the *Ordo Baptisterii*, or it may have been placed apart from it, with other forms, for the use of the bishop. The forms for the expositions of the Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer may have formed part of the *Ordo Baptisterii*, but it is also possible they were taken from a Gallican source." This note will give an idea of the range of possibilities that seems to open out on all sides before the writer of the Introduction ; and of the ease with which they suggest themselves independently of considerations of proof, of evidence, or of likelihood.

were evidently designed for a body of catechumens, of whom a large proportion would be adults; for such alone has the rite, as drawn out, its practical sense and reason, characteristics which are determinant in the first institution of ecclesiastical forms. Such observances once rooted die hard, and maintain themselves as ceremonies long after they have survived their full original meaning. In the seventh and eighth centuries among a Christian people, in Rome, in Christianised Gaul, the proportion of adult candidates for baptism must have been small; and, accordingly, for the series of preparatory services there was gradually substituted a connected order in which the originally separated elements are simplified and brought into one whole. The *Ordo Baptisterii* of the later Gelasian manuscript, and, it may be added, of Alcuin's supplement, shows the development from the old to the new, and represents a stage perfectly consonant with the generally modernised style observable throughout those manuscripts in detail and in general disposition. The older Gelasian manuscript still preserves the record of an older practice which had become obscured even in the *Ordo Romanus VII.* of the seventh century. It does not assign explicitly by rubric the three solemn scrutinies to the third, fourth and fifth Sundays of Lent; but that this is doubtless meant and was the practice is shown by the recently recovered Naples Calendar (the actual manuscript of which could not be later than the first half of the seventh century), which entitles the third Sunday "quando psalmi accipiunt,"* the fourth "quando orationem accipiunt," the fifth "quando symbulum accipiunt." This Calendar, as a whole, shows a practice akin to, though distinct from, the Roman; and there can be little doubt that it and the older recension of the *Gelasianum* both represent in practice the same stage of development, dating at least as early as the close of the sixth century; that is, they show a pre-Gregorian discipline. The order of baptism, passing as the *Ordo Romanus VII.*, is based on this early baptismal discipline, but is, according to Duchesne, a recension of the seventh century; it throws the three solemn scrutinies into a single service on a day in the fourth week of Lent, and expressly contemplates the catechumens as *infantes*.

* Dom Germain Morin here suggests "saalem" (*Anecdota Maredsolana*, tom. i., *Liber comicus*, p. 432).

The old rite, though it had fallen out of the missal, was not yet dropped, but it had already reached the merely ceremonial stage. It was now only a question of time to reach universally that *Ordo Baptisterii* given in the later manuscripts of the *Gelasianum*, on which is based the order of baptism of the present Roman ritual, an order still retaining, in the different places assigned for different parts of the form for adults, traces of that primitive separation of rites now fused into a single continuous service.

There are, undoubtedly, at various points, marks of dislocation in the early book, and the editor does good service in calling attention to them. But the instance which he has chosen to dwell upon cannot be justly classed among the number. The contention that a ritual antiquity, defaced in the Vatican manuscript, can be restored by means of the later recension, is mistaken. The later texts have an importance and value of their own, but they illustrate the history of the transition from the older practice in the Frankish kingdom to the universal adoption of the *Gregorianum*; and are not proper to help us in reconstructing the Roman rites of an earlier age.

To any one who follows with attention recent literature on the subject of early liturgy, it is evident that M. Duchesne's book on the "Origins of Christian Worship" has set ideas on the subject all in disarray. There is in our days a desire, perhaps excessive, to be up to date and be critical, scientific; but then this book makes it so difficult to know what view to take on so many points of important detail. And indeed there is much excuse for the puzzled attitude of mind of the specialists, which exists in fact, however decorously the fact may be concealed from the eye of the profane. Duchesne goes along his own road, in irregular and unsystematic fashion; he points with the finger now in this direction, now in that, and there are interesting conjunctures when the indications seem to be almost contradictory. Sometimes he simply disregards the by-paths he himself points out; sometimes he enters upon them but only to stop short provokingly just at the point where his guidance is most needed. There runs through his rapid survey something of a good-humoured contempt for his audience, which is not a little disconcerting; and he probably knew them well. The *Origines* is a book which, though professing

by its form to be a work of popularisation, can only be used as it should be by those best able to form an opinion for themselves; and it will be most highly valued, be found most useful, and be most frequently consulted by those least at the author's mercy.

A reaction from an exaggerated traditionalism, as exemplified in the methods of the first volume of Dom Guéranger's *Institutions Liturgiques*, was inevitable; and it was natural that it should manifest itself most clearly in France. The reaction which has, in fact, ensued shows, like such movements generally, a tendency on its side to exaggeration, though doubtless even in exaggeration it has greatly helped to bring into clear relief the problems that have to be dealt with, and to disengage in many respects bare truth of fact. The question of the origins of the Roman mass-book is only one item of a subject which, if satisfactory and fairly sure results are to be arrived at, must be studied not merely with exactness in isolated points of detail, but as a whole in all its bearings.

The charming (but, so far as origins are concerned,* giddily written and immature) book on the "History of the Roman Breviary," by M. Pierre Batiffol, probably marks a term of reaction, although for a time it is to be expected that the many persons who would desire to appear on the level of scientific progress at little cost to themselves, will readily appropriate, without further inquiry, the newest theories. There are not wanting signs, however, that a sober review of the whole evidence must issue, as regards the earliest Roman mass-books, in a recognition that the traditional names "Gelasian" and "Gregorian" represent, as applied to the books hitherto passing under those names, a practical truth, the neglect of which must turn the history of the liturgy in the West into a mere enigma; and that the *Gelasianum* is substantially the Roman mass-book of the sixth century.

The foregoing article was in type when the unexpected intelligence arrived of the death of Dom Bäumer. He had already finished his work on the history of the Breviary, which is

* I mean particularly the second and third chapters.

passing through the press, and he was about to address himself to his further task of the early history of the Roman, or rather Western, Liturgy. The materials gathered during a long course of years were in hand, the plan was sketched, and the work had been so far meditated on and thought out, that a few months would have sufficed for its completion. By his death sacred learning suffers a heavy loss; there is no one ready to take his place. To his brethren in religion, to his friends, the loss is more grievous still of one who was so truly simple of heart and single of eye; so upright, so penetrated with the loving fear of God.

EDMUND BISHOP.

ART. II.—THE MEDIÆVAL SERVICE BOOKS OF AQUITAINE.

I.—ALBI.

THE diocese of Albi has always professed to follow closely the usages of Rome. This is proved not only from the ancient Sacramentaries and other MSS. which have survived destruction, but also from the statutes of various bishops of the See.

About the year 1260, the canons, then living in cloister under the rule of St. Augustine, began to manifest their wish for secularisation, but despite their applications, the change was not effected till 1297, when Pope Boniface VIII. issued a bull, dated 4 kalends of January, granting their repeated request. It is specially stipulated in it that the Roman use continue to be observed. Bishop Bernard de Castanet—the builder of the existing cathedral—by his statutes, dated April 3, 1298, provides for the appointment of four chaplains (*hebdomadarii altaris maioris*), two deacons, two sub-deacons, nine choir-boys—“*bene cantantes*”—and two masters over them; all of whom are to be present in choir during the day and night offices.

The bull allowed each canon to appoint a vicar, and the bishop now orders that the thirty-one vicars are to be perpetual and not amovable; and that they wear “*vestes talares de panno*” as becometh honest clerks, with “*calceamenta honesta cum caligis nigris*.” Their tonsure is to be round in shape, and their hair clipped short. From Easter to All Saints they are to wear in church clean surplices, but in winter-time over the surplice a “*cappa nigra de saia*.”

A bull of Benedict XII., dated v ides of July 1335, further regulates the vesture and conduct of the clergy in choir. From All Saints to Easter the canons are to wear over the surplice a black “*cappam longam scissam ante pectus*,” and carry amysses of uniform pattern. Each on entering and leaving the choir is to bow lowly to the altar with uncovered head. The tonsure is to be seemly, and their hair clipped

and beards shaved on the vigils of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All Saints, also on the eves of the four feasts of B.V.M. and of the Holy Cross, and of the Angels and Apostles which have preceding vigils. Likewise for the festival of Blessed Cecily, and at other convenient times—"tonderi faciant atque radi." Dogs and hawks are not to be kept by the clergy, nor secular dress worn outside the church. Each canon, on his appointment, is to present one cope of the value of at least fifteen *limres tournois* to the cathedral. There are to be ten boys in choir, "apti et bene cantantes."

In 1400, the bishop—Dominic of Florence—reduced the number of canons to twenty-one. This was owing to the diminution of the revenues of the chapter, caused by war and other calamities.

Louis d'Amboise, the great benefactor of the cathedral, by his statutes, dated July 5, 1476, regulated the order of services and other matters connected with his church.

By his ordinances, the bells are to ring for matins at all seasons between 3 A.M. and 4 A.M. and the ringing finished between 4 A.M. and 5 A.M., at which hour matins and lauds are to be said, followed by prime and Mass for the Dead ("missa obitûs"). The matins of Christmas, Ascension and Pentecost, however, are to be sung at the customary hour. On Sundays and feasts of double and semi-double rite the bells are to ring when *Te Deum* begins, and continue ringing till the verse "*Pleni sunt cœli*," &c. When *Te Deum* is not sung they are to ring during the ninth response of matins. From Easter to Michaelmas the bells are to ring for tierce between 7 A.M. and 8 A.M., and at 8 o'clock tierce is to be said, but from Michaelmas to Easter one hour later.

After tierce the procession, when there is one, is to be made, followed by High Mass. The bells are to ring for vespers from 2 to 3 P.M.

No canon is to walk through the city alone, but he is to be accompanied by two (or at least one) honest servants. The canons and other clergy are to shave their beards on the vigils mentioned in the bull above, and are not to go longer than ten days without shaving.

From All Saints to Easter the canons and clergy are to wear the surplice (without sleeves, if they like to do so), but on no

account a rochet, and over the surplice the black "cappa," open down the front, with a small black hood.

From Easter to All Saints the "cappa" is to be replaced by the amyss. No wooden sabots (*sotulares ligneos*) nor pattens (*callopodia ferrata*) are to be worn in choir under penalty of losing three days' pay. Neither are pistols (*scopos*) to be carried in church.

At matins, tierce and vespers, the canon or chaplain singing the office is to intone distinctly the Paternoster with uncovered head, which ended he is to rise and sing the Domine labia mea, or Deus in adjutorium. While the antiphon after the Benedictus and Magnificat is being sung, the officiant is to go with the acolytes and thurifer, preceded by one of the beadles (*marrellari*), to the altar step, and there sing the collect from a covered desk (*pulpitum*). The canons are to wear copes in choir during the High Mass on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Assumption, All Saints and St. Cecily. (This custom is still observed.)

At all High Masses at the high altar the celebrant is to recite the psalm—*Judica me Deus*—according to the liturgy of the Roman Church—"cujus officium tenemus."

The celebrant and ministers are to sit during the singing of the gradual. (This custom is still in full force.) There are other directions for the due and reverent celebration of Mass.

The paschal candle is not to be removed from its place until the benediction of the font on the vigil of Pentecost.

After compline, the commemoration of the B.V.M. is to be made by the following anthems: in Advent, *Gabriel angelus*; from Christmas to Easter, and from Ascension to Advent, *Ave regina celorum*, except on Saturdays, when *Salve Regina* is to be sung; from Easter to Ascension, the *Regina celi*.

On July 13, 1494, Louis d'Amboise published further statutes for his cathedral. Three strokes on the great bell are to be given at the elevation at the daily High Mass. No canon or other cleric is to enter the church with bare legs or feet. There is to be no talking together or gossiping (*confabulationes*) in choir. The canons and clergy on entering the choir shall uncover their heads, and bow lowly to the altar, "because the Body of Christ is ever preserved there."

By a bull, dated 7 kalends of March 1531 — Pope

Clement VII. grants to the clergy of the cathedral the use of the rochet and "cappa-magna." "Roquetam et magnam et longam cappam, et super illa capucium magnum. Canonici videlicet et hebdomadarii rubeo, alia vero Beneficiati prae-fati nigro raso."

The above rules and regulations are extracted from a collection of bulls and statutes relating to Albi, now preserved in the library of the Grand Seminary.

Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, confirmed a further statute made by Louis d'Amboise, whereby it is ordered that in future, at each choir-office recited in the cathedral, sixteen wax tapers, each weighing one pound, shall be lighted and burnt during the service.* This was probably after the erection by the bishop of the new high altar, ordered by him to be made in Paris, and for which he entered into contract with certain metal founders of that city in 1484.†

When the inventory of the goods and chattels of the Chapter was taken in 1789, previous to their confiscation, there were found in the cathedral library 1984 printed books and 124 manuscripts, the earliest of the latter dating from the seventh century; and in the sacristy many graduals and antiphonaries on vellum, some of them richly illuminated, particularly one containing the office for the feast of St. Cecily, which was full of beautiful miniatures and bound in red morocco, with clasps and corners of bronze-gilt.

Dom Martene, when he visited Albi some years earlier, saw many fine and ancient sacramentaries, a Gratian embellished with sixty miniatures, and a MS. containing some works of Cicero, some books of Euclid and treatises on mathematics, which belonged formerly to Popes Gregory XI. and Clement VII., and afterwards formed one of the volumes of Louis d'Amboise's library, bequeathed by that bishop to the chapter.‡

Massol, who conducted the commissioners during their inspection, pointed out to them many valuable "incunables" and rare editions among the printed books. When the cathedral library was transferred to the care of the municipality, this renegade canon obtained the post of city librarian.

* "Hist. Gen. de Languedoc," ed. 1874, t. v.

† "Bib. Nat." Fonds Doat. MS. 112.

‡ "Voyage Littéraire," 1717.

During his tenure of office he made away with many MSS. and books committed to his charge, and in fact disposed of the greater part of these literary treasures entrusted to his keeping by selling them to collectors, or exchanging them for modern works suited to the literary attainments and tastes of his employers. In 1820, he boasted that he had "purged" the library of many of these *inutilités* by giving them to the celebrated Irish collector Mac-Carthy Reagh, in exchange for one copy of Buffon's Natural History.*

Despite his wicked depredations the town library of Albi still remains in possession of a few valuable and early liturgical manuscripts. Arranging these in order of date we find three MSS. belonging to the ninth century—viz.:

MS. 36.—Calendar of Archdiocese of Bourges (A.D. 854),
fo. vellum.

„ 44.—Antiphonary, 4to vellum.

„ 42.—A collection of "Benedictiones," 4to vellum.

Of a date from 950 to 1025:

MS. 4.—Sacramentary, vellum, oblong.

„ 34.—Pontificale. 4to, vellum.

Of the end of eleventh or beginning of twelfth century:

MS. 3.—Rituale Albiensis, vellum, oblong. In red and black letters with coloured capitals; in handwriting of Archdeacon Sicard.

MS. 6.—Sacramentary, vellum, black and red lettering, illuminated capitals, also written by Archdeacon Sicard. A very beautiful and clean copy, as it was reserved for the use of the bishop, as is proved by the Benedictions inserted, and other details.

MS. 5.—Sacramentary, vellum; also by Archdeacon Sicard, but of later date than MSS. 3 and 6, and with additions by a later hand.

MS. 15.—Lectionary, parchment, 4to.

MS. 13.—Book of the Gospels, vellum, 4to.

Of twelfth to thirteenth century:

MS. 9.—Diurnale et Rituale, 4to, vellum.

Of fourteenth to fifteenth century:

MS. 8.—Martyrology, kalendar, necrology, &c., vellum.

* Du Mège, in "Archéologie Pyrénéenne," i. c.

Besides early MSS. of the Bible, New Testament, Psalter, Horæ, and other office books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and of later date.*

The ancient Sacramentary (MS. 4) is full of interest. It contains no less than one hundred and twenty-two proper prefaces for the Sundays and Feasts. The title on fol. 1 is: INCIPIT | LIBER SA | RAMEN | TORUM | PER C . . CV | LVM A . . . | On fol. 2 is the common preface, followed by the canon of the Mass. The commemoration of the dead, before 'Nobis quoque' is wanting in the original, but is added in a later hand on the margin.

The names of "Ilario, Martino" are added to the saints commemorated in "Nobis quoque" after "Petro."

The canon ends with the first Agnus Dei, immediately after which, and on the same line, comes VIII KLĒN | IANVAR ORATIO | IN VIGILIA DNI. The midnight Mass of Christmas is headed IN NOCTE AD SCĀ MARIĀ, and in the second Mass the collect, secret and post-communion of St. Anastasia precede those of Christmas. Two prefaces are provided for this Mass of Aurora, and for the third Mass five post-communions. On the Feast of St. John the Evangelist there is a proper collect for use at vespers. No ferial Masses are given for Lent. On Palm Sunday the "Benedictio ramis palmarum sive flōr," consists of one collect only—"Omnipotens deus Christe mundi creator et redemptor," &c. The Exultet of Holy Saturday is taken from the Gelasian formula, which begins "Deus mundi conditor." In this sacramentary it is tacked on to the opening sentence of the preface after the word "eterne." Alcuin gave it as an alternative form to the Gregorian.

Then follow the four collects, "quæ dicendes ad Lec"—viz. :

1. Deus qui mirabiliter creasti, &c.
2. Deus cujus antiqua, &c.
3. Deus qui nos ad celebrandum, &c.
4. Deus qui ecclesiam tuam, &c.

On Easter Day proper collects are provided for vespers,

* Since the above was written, Mr. E. Bishop, to whom I am indebted for his kindly criticism and advice, has drawn my attention to the fact that MSS 4, 5, 6 have been briefly described by M. Léopold Delisle in "Mémoires de l'Institut Nat. de France, Académie des Ins. et Belles Lettres," 1886, t. 32, pp. 227-232.

"ad fontem," "ad S. And." During the octave there are proper collects for vespers, and "at the font"; and likewise till the Thursday inclusive for recital before the chapel or altar of S. Andrew.

On the vigil of Pentecost the prayers after the four lessons are respectively :

1. Deus qui in Abrahe, &c.
2. Deus qui nobis per prophetarum, &c.
3. Deus qui nos ad celebrandum, &c.
4. Deus incommutabilis virtus, &c.

The lessons themselves are not found in this MS., either here, or on Holy Saturday.

The first Sunday after Pentecost is entitled *DOM VACAT.*, but has the proper preface of the Holy Trinity, and the collect "*Deprecationem nostram quesumus Domine benignus exaudi,*" &c.

The feasts come between the Sundays—*e.g.*, S. John Baptist (for which there are two Masses), is found after the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, S. Benedict after the eighth Sunday. The feast of S. Sixtus, besides its own proper preface, has the "prefatio" for the Benediction of the Grapes, *BEN. UVE* in the canon of the Mass at the end of "*Nobis quoque.*"

There are Masses for twenty-seven Sundays after Pentecost, followed by five Sundays "*ante nativitatem domini.*"

The feast of S. Lucy has two Masses. After the Mass for S. Thomas the Apostle come those of the Common of Saints, followed by votive Masses : prayers "*ad capilla tundenda*" and "*barbas tonend,*" various gospels and epistles, the exorcisms of salt and water, and benedictions for the same. The various forms—*AD COMMŪ : POST COŪ : AD CŪPL.* are found as titles to the post-communions. There are no rubrics in this sacramentary.

In the Pontificale (MS. 34) are two collects for a Mass "*contra demoniaco,*" and a form of benediction of the hot water used at trial by ordeal.

B. super Aqua ferventis.—Deus iudex justus . fortis et patiens . qui auctor es pacis et iudicas equitatem . tu iudica quod justum est, domine . et rectum da iudicium . qui respicis terram et facis eam tremere . tu es deus omnipotens . qui per adventum filii tui domini nostri ihū xpī mundum salvasti . et sanctissima passione ejus humanum genus

redemisti . tu hanc aquam igne ferventem sanctifica . qui tres pueros id est Sidrac Misac et Abdenago in camino ignis ardentis accensa fornace salvasti . illosque per angelum tuum eduxisti . tu clemens sanctissime dominator presta . ut siquis innocens de hoc furto in hanc aquam igne ferventem manum miserit . sicut tres pueros supradictos in camino ignis salvasti . et Susannam de falso crimine liberasti : ita et qui innocens de hoc furto in hanc aquam igne ferventem manum miserit salvam et illesam educat . Ita deus omnipotens si quis est culpabilis in crassante diabolo cor induratum habens manum mittere presumpserit . tua justissima severitas hoc declaret huic in corpore suo . ut certa veritas sit manifesta . et anima per penitentiam salvetur . et si quis culpabilis est et per aliqua maleficia aut per herbas peccata sua regere voluit . tua dextera hoc evacuare dignetur . Per eundum.

This differs from the prayer in the various rites for trial by ordeal quoted by Dom Martene.*

The Rituale of Albi (MS. 3) has an index of its contents on fol. 2, headed :

“PRENOTAT HIC CALAMUS QUOD CONTINET ISTE LIBELLUS.” In this list are the benedictions of salt and water, bread, wine, grapes and figs, fruit, salt “ad pecora,” “ad eulogias,” the pannier and staff for a journey, at haircutting, at shaving, &c. ; also benedictions for use in the sacristy, in the dormitory, kitchen (coquina), hospital, bakehouse, chapter-house, refectory, buttery, barn, &c. ; followed by those used in the services of the church—viz., of candles, ashes, palms, fire, incense, paschal candle, and the paschal lamb ; the rites for the due administrations of the sacraments, the burial of the dead, the blessing of bells, hair-cloth, salt and water against lightning, and of hot irons, hot water, and candles—“ad iudicium,” or trials by ordeal. VSIBUS ECCLESIE SATIS UTILIS EST | LIBER ISTE : | SCRIPTORIS LIBRI LECTOR | MEMOR ESTO SICARDI.

Many of the prayers and ceremonies differ from those of the modern Roman ritual.

A rubric for the office on Palm Sunday orders that the clergy and people, preceded by the cross, banners and the relics of the saints, assemble at the third hour of the day at the church or place where the ceremony is to be performed. There tierce is to be said by the clergy and people standing in a circle (facta corona). The Gospel, “Cum appropinquasset Jesus” follows, which being finished the cantor sings the

* “De Antiq. Rit.” ii. 338 *et seq.* (ed. 1788).

antiphons—"Collegerunt," and "Cum appropinquaret," and while he is chanting, the Bishop, accompanied by twelve priests, approaches to bless the branches. On his arrival a clerk chants the antiphon "Ave rex noster." A prayer and proper preface and two collects are provided.

Fire and incense are blessed on Maunday Thursday, and the paschal candle on Holy Saturday is lighted from the fire thus previously hallowed.

There are two forms of exorcism (one for men, the other for women) in the rite of Baptism.

In the Litany—"Sancta Regina Celorum," the Archangels and Apostles, "Omnes SS. Innocentes," and SS. Stephen, Ilinus, Cletus, Clement, Xistus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Vincent, Saturninus, Antoninus, Julian, Genesius, Hypolitus, Fabian, Sebastian, John and Paul, Tiburtius and Valerian, Cosmas and Damien, Justus and Pastor, Maurice and his companions, Denis and his companions, Victor and his companions, Irenæus and his companions, Silvester, Martial, Salvus, Leo, Gregory, Calixtus, Hilary, Martin, Brice, Eugenius, Amancius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Nicholas, Benedict, Maurus, Placidus, Isidore, Gerald, Giles, William, Mary Magdalene, Cecilia, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Anastatia, Praxedis, Eulalia, Scholastica, Sigolena, Marcianna, Karissima, Faith, Hope, Charity and Wisdom are invoked.

Ut episcopum et abbates seu prepositos nostros, &c.

Ut congregationem Sce Cecilie et omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto servitio conservare digneris.

Mediator Dei et hominum. Te rogamus, &c.

The marriage rite is very ornate, beginning with the blessing of the bridegroom's gifts (arras). A proper Mass is provided with following preface:—

Qui foedera nuptiarum blando concordia jugo et insolubili pacis vinculo nexuisti . ut multiplicandis adobtionum filiis sanctorum conubiorum fecunditas pudica servaretur. Tua enim Domine providentia . tua gratia ineffabilibus modis utrumque dispensat . ut quod generatio ad mundi edidit ornatum . regeneratio ad ecclesie perducatur augmentum. Et adeo, &c.

Before the "Pax domini" is the prayer, "Propiciare Domine," and another preface said *super nubentes*—"Deus qui potestate virtutis tue de nichilo," and the priest re-

turning to the altar says "Per omnia secula seculorum. Pax." Two proper prayers follow, and then the benediction, "ad reconciliandos conjuges." * After which the priest delivers the bride to the bridegroom, saying, "Accipe eam in nomine Patris, &c. Ite in pace."

An office follows for the visitation of the newly-married couple in their house, where the bed is incensed, and the blessing of "S. Thomas the Apostle" is given them.

This *Rituale* ends with the following beautiful antiphon to Our Lady:

O Maria, Virgo perpetua, placca nobis Deum, quia pro nobis Dei mater facta es. Surge O pia mater nostra. Surge amplectere filium pro filiis. Ostende mamillas sacras quas ipse dulciter suxit. Ostende manus immaculatas ante faciem redemptoris nostri. Alleluia.

XI. Mater patrum et nati filia patrem ora jube natum pia ut nos ducat ad polorum gaudia.

The first two folios of MS. 6 contain a memorandum, written by B. Grossi, sacristan of the church of Albi, "in crastinum festi beate lucie virginis Anno dni M.CC.XLVIII.," relating to the reciprocal duties of the bishop and chapter, according to the ordinances and rules laid down and agreed to by Durantus, the bishop, and Dominus B. de Combreto, the provost, as binding on themselves and successors, and the canons of St. Cecily. The original agreement was drawn by Master Guilhelmus Biscarioni, notary, of which this is a copy. According to the arrangement then made and entered into by the contracting parties, the bishop is to officiate at the procession and High Mass in his cathedral on the following feasts—viz., Christmas Day, the Purification of Blessed Mary, Palm Sunday, Maunday Thursday (in die jovis sc̄a), Holy Saturday, Easter Day, the Vigil of Pentecost, Whitsunday, the Assumption of Blessed Mary, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. On these days the bishop (if he be willing), by ancient episcopal right, hereby renewed to him by the provost and chapter, can and ought to be entertained by them in the refectory at dinner only, together with eight persons of his household, at the expense of the chapter.

But on the feast of S. Cecily, the bishop, with sixteen of his

* According to MS. 5, this is the benediction given, "ad secundas nuptias."

household, and the officers of his spiritual and temporal courts in the city of Albi, are to dine in the refectory at the expense of the chapter.

On Maunday Thursday the bishop is to dine in the said refectory with the provost, canons, and other clergy of the cathedral, whom he is to entertain at his own cost.

If the bishop be unable or unwilling to eat in the refectory on the said Thursday, and if he be in the city or diocese at the time, then he shall pay for the entertainment: to the provost xii solidos ramundens; to the prior, viiis.; to each archdeacon, viis.; to the sacristan, iiis.; to each of the other canons, iiis.; to each "donat," ijs.; and to each of the chaplains, and to the two clerks, xviii deniers ramundens. Provided always that the said persons shall have been present at the High Mass, unless prevented by sickness. If the bishop be absent from his diocese on this day, the above payments cannot be exacted.

The sacramentary begins on fol. 4.

Cvi fieri servam me laudo Sicardvs in evvm
Hvnc tibi describo librv̄m Cecilia virgo.

INCIPIIT LIBER
SACRAMENTORVM
P. ANNI CIRCVLVM.

followed immediately by "Per omnia secula seculorum," &c., before the common preface. On the lower part of this page is a drawing of Our Lord in a vesica supported by two seraphim in chasubles. Below it are the opening words of the canon TE IGITUR CLEMEN.

In the "Libera nos," after the Paternoster, St. Michael's name is inserted—"Maria et sancto archangelo tuo Michaelē, et beatis apostolis," &c.

The Pax domini, &c., is followed by the Agnus Dei. Then come these prayers:

1. Hec sacro sancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis dñi. nostri ihesu xpi fiat omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis et ad vitam capescendam eternam preparatio salutaris . Te prestari . te rex regum qui in trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas.

2. *Ante Communionē.*—Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus . da michi hoc corpus et sanguinem dñi nri ihu xpi filii tui . ita sumere . ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere . et

tuo sancto spiritu replei . et eterne vite hereditatem percipere sine fine . quia tu es deus et preter te non est alius.

3. *Post Communionem*.—Perceptio corporis et sanguinis tui domine ihu xpe quam ego indignus et infelix sumere presumpti . non michi proveniat ad iudicium . neque ad condemnationem . sed prosit michi ad remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum . sitque ad percipiendam vitam aeternam preparatio salutaris . te prestante deus noster qui cum patre et spiritu sco vivis et regnas in secula seculorum.

4. *Post Missam*.—Placeat tibi, &c., ending, Te prestante, &c.

There are no rubrics in the canon. Some of the "stations" are mentioned. The proper of the season begins with the Vigil of Christmas. After the sixth Sunday—"post Theophaniam"—is the mass for "iii Non. Febrii, Hypapanti Domini." Before the Office of Good Friday is a rubric that the Mass is not to be sung, "neque in Sabbato . donec ad vigiliis noctis." Seven lamps are to be lighted at the altar where the Mass of the Presanctified is said; the bishop and his ministers are to wear the Lenten vestments—"non nudis pedibus." After he has reached the throne a small linen cloth is to be spread on the bare altar. Two deacons are devoutly to prepare the cross for veneration. The sub-deacon and deacon go to the tomb, where the former receives a chalice with wine, and the latter the "Corpus Domini." On their return the antiphon "Hoc corpus" is sung. No incense is offered, nor is "Orate fratres" said. The celebrant places the Particle in the chalice—"nichil dicens, nisi forte dicere aliquid voluerit. Deinde communicent omnes cum silencio, et post paululum dicuntur vesperes."

On Holy Saturday the paschal candle is to be lighted from the fire—"quod V feria de silice et xpistallo excussus fuerit"—and the reader from the pulpit (in ambone) reads the four lessons provided.

The litanies are to be said in the choir, the first seven times, the second five times, and the third thrice. After the blessing of the font, and the administration of baptism, the litanies are repeated in choir, and at "propitius esto," all the bells are to be rung. At the Agnus Dei the "Magister schole" is to sing thrice in a loud voice "Accendite," and the whole church is illuminated. Then follows the festal "Kyrie eleyson," and the bishop sings solemnly the "Gloria in excelsis."

The exuberant number of proper prefaces of the old sacramentary is reduced to the limited number of the Roman Missal in this MS., but there are proper prefaces, in addition, for the Invention of the Cross, S. Cecily, and the Mass of Requiem (wherein the name of the dead person is mentioned).

The feast of the Holy Trinity is observed, and there are Masses for twenty-five Sundays after Pentecost. The whole of the office on the Vigil of Pentecost is to be ended by 3 P.M. A number of "Benedictiones" are given, usually four for each feast, provided with them. The prayer at the end of each Mass is entitled "ad complendum." The proper of saints begins, "ab octabis Pentecostes usque in natale Domini," and the Vigil of St. Cecily has a Mass.

The Sacramentary (MS. 5) is the one quoted by Le Brun in his Explication de la Messe,— "un fort beau Sacramentaire de l'église d'Alby qui paraît être écrit vers l'an 1100," as a partial copy of this MS. is among his papers in the Bib. Nationale (16803). It contains a calendar, with a verse at the head of each month mentioning the unlucky days. In the margin of each page are recorded the obits of various bishops and other personages, in the handwriting of Sicard, with others added at a later date. Against the 14th of September a later scribe has inserted the words, Sicard' archidiacon'.

We find in this MS. the *Ordo* of the Mass before the canon, and there are a few brief rubrics.

On fol. 7 is the title :

IN NOMINE DNI NRI IHU XPI
INCIPIT LIBER SACRAMENTORUM
PER CIRCULVM ANNI
A BEATO GREGORIO PAPA
VRBIS ROME EDITVS.

In primis dum ingreditur sacerdos ad altare : dicit
A. Introibo, &c. P. Iudica, &c. A. Introibo, &c.
Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster, &c.
Dne ne memineris. Adjuva nos deus. Ab occultis.
Dne exaudi oration. Dns. vobiscum. Oremus.
Aufer a nobis, &c. Acciones nostras, &c. Consciencias nostras, &c.
Confiteor deo et sancte marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres, peccavi nimis per superbiam, in cogitatione, loquatione, delectatione et opere mea culpa.

Misereatur tui op̄s dñs, dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua preterita . presentia . et futura . liberet te ab omni malo . conservet et confirmet te in om̄i

opere bono . et perducatur te ad vitam eternam. Amen. Indulgentiam et remissionem et absolutionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum . et spacium penitencie . et gratiam sancti spiritus tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors dominus.

Oratio ante altare dicenda.—Deus de indignis dignos, &c.

Ad corporalia extendenda.—In conspectu tuo domine . hec nostra munera tibi placita sint . ut nos tibi placere valeamus.

Ad offerendam hostiam.—Hanc oblationem qs . omps . ds . placatus accipias . et omnium offerentium . et eorum pro quibus tibi offertur . peccata indulge. Per.

Ad calicem.—Offerimus tibi domine . ihu xpi filii tui sanguinem humiliter deprecantes ut in conspectu divinae majestatis tue cum odore suavitatis ascendat.

Deinde suplex ante altare dicat or.—Suscipe sancta Trinitas memoriam nativitatis et in honorem omnium sanctorum tuorum qui tibi placueri ab inicio mundi . ut illis, &c.

Inde surgens faciat signum crucis super sacrificium.—In nomine sancta Trinitatis et individue unitatis descendat angelus benedictionis et consecrationis super hoc munus.

In spiritu, &c.

Deinde vertat se ad populum dicens.—Obsecro vos fratres orate pro me ad deum . ut meum vestrumque sacrificium acceptabile fiat deo.

There is no response. The title is repeated here, IN NOMINE, &c.

SCRIPTORIS LIBRI LECTOR MEMOR ESTO SICARDI.

Ordo qualiter in Catholica ecclesia missa celebretur

Inprimis Antiphona ad introitum, &c. &c.

Postmodum sequitur oratio super oblata. Qua sub silentio completa.

Sacerdos expansis manibus excelsa voce reverenter dicat—

Per omnia, &c., with the Common Preface.

Item diebus solempnibus. Et ideo cum angelis, &c.

The rest is copied from MS. 6, until IIII NN. FEB. PURIFICATIO SCE MARIE, wherein slight differences begin to appear in this and following feasts.

On Easter Day three collects are given for vespers, “ad fontes,” “ad crucem,”—and proper collects for the same during the octave until “Sabbato in albis.”

The benediction of the grape appears in the canon on S. Sixtus' Day. Two Masses are provided for the feast of S. Laurence, and there is no proper preface for S. Cecily. The proper of saints begins from Easter.

On fol. 154: HVIVS OPVS LIBI. DIGITI SICPSERE SICARDI.(sic).

Eleven folios have been added. One contains the Gospel for the matins of Christmas with neumatic notation.

From a Processionale (MS. 11) of the fifteenth century we get some details of the Blessing of the Palms and other rites in use at Albi at this date.

Solemn processions in copes of cloth of gold (*aureis et cerialis*) were made on the feasts of the Nativity, Circumcision, and Epiphany; Purification and Annunciation of Blessed Mary; Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Nativity of S. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Visitation of Blessed Mary, Transfiguration, Translation of the relics of S. Cecily, Assumption and Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary, Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, S. Michael (Sept. 29), All Saints, Blessed Cecily, Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Dedication of the Church.

Solemn processions outside the church and cloister were made on Palm Sunday, the three Rogation days, and the feast of the Eucharist.

On Palm Sunday (in fine weather) the procession started from the cathedral after the Aspersion, headed by a banner, followed by the reliquaries and images of saints, the cross bearer and acolytes, and lastly the bishop in his pontifical vestments of red, or violet, with a white mitre (*sine aurifricisio*), with his ministers on foot; and wended its way to the open ground near the church of S. Salvi (*ad planum S. Salvii*), two chanters (*officiatores*) in copes intoning the antiphon, *Ave rex noster*, and the hymns *Ex illa regis*, and *Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis*. After the recital of tierce, the proper Gospel, and the office of Benediction of the Palms, the bishop takes off his red cope and puts on a white cope, and the mitre with golden orphreys. He then mounts a mare covered with trappings of white cloth, and rides to the cathedral, holding in his left hand the palm, and blessing the people with the right. Two archdeacons conduct his steed, and he is accompanied by a deacon holding the pastoral staff, and a subdeacon carrying the cross (*crucem episcopalem ante pontificem* *). If the bishop be absent from his city on this day the celebrant is not to ride on the return of the procession.

* Were the bishops of Albi entitled to have an archiepiscopal crozier borne before them?

On reaching the portal of Dominic of Florence the bishop dismounts, and stands before the closed door, while the "Gloria laus et honor," and the "Attolite portas" are sung and responded to by the boys on the battlements of the gateway. After entering the church the prayer *Deus qui filium tuum pro salute nostra, &c.*, brings this office to a close, and the Mass is forthwith celebrated.

By order of Bishop D'Elbène, in 1618, that portion of the Passion called "the Synagogue" ceased to be chanted "en musique" in the cathedral, as was the old custom at Albi before this innovation.

R. TWIGGE.

ART. III.—THE REAL JOAN OF ARC.

11. *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc.* Par JEAN BAPTISTE-JOSEPH AYROLES, S.J. Paris : Gaume et Cie. 1890, 1894, *et seq.*
12. *The Maid of Orleans.* By the Rev. FRANCIS M. WYNDHAM, M.A. London : St. Anselm's Society. 1894.

THE radiant figure of the inspired girl charged by heaven with the deliverance of France in her darkest hour has a unique place in secular history. Nowhere, outside the pages of the sacred story, is there in the records of the government of the universe, such another case of the immediate and visible intervention of Providence in the guidance of human affairs. The episode of the Maid of Orleans is as marvellous as any fable of mythology, and yet its main outlines have come down to us attested by such evidence as can be adduced in proof of no other historical fact, the records of a double judicial investigation, with the verbatim report of the depositions of the witnesses. The miracles of other saints are recorded in ecclesiastical annals alone. Joan's changed the course of history, and affected to all time the destinies of two great nations. Crowned with the threefold halo of heroism, sanctity, and martyrdom, she stands out as the intermediary between the world of the spirit and that of the flesh, as a creature more angelic than human, lent to earth for a brief time and a special purpose. A rude peasant maiden chosen as the ambassadress of heaven, she delivered its message with unflinching fidelity to the great ones of this lower world, whose terrestrial splendours could indeed have had but little power to dazzle eyes accustomed to the awful presences of thrones and principalities from on high. The lowliness of her station served, as in the case of the Apostles, to accentuate the miraculous character of her mission, by the contrast between the greatness of the work accomplished, and the feebleness of the instrument employed. Unlettered, knowing, as she herself said, "Neither A nor B," undistinguished in the simple frankness of her address and bearing, from thousands

of other village girls of her age and condition, with no external indication of the sublime destiny awaiting her, she blazed upon the world in her double part of warrior and prophetess, sibyl and saint, unheralded and unexpected as a heaven born meteor in a midnight sky. Her career, the most striking manifestation of the supernatural in modern history, is at once the despair of rationalism and the glory of religion, which honours in her a type of sanctity unexampled even among the endless variety of patterns held up for our example. And while on the one hand she recalls by her exploits the heroines of the Jewish dispensation, she is raised far above them on the other by the tender graces of Christian maidenhood, and the supreme consecration of the martyr's death.

A flood of light has been thrown on the career of Joan of Arc since the publication from 1841 to 1849 of the five massive volumes in which Quicherat edited for the *Société de l'Histoire de France* the Latin texts of the two processes of the Condemnation and Rehabilitation of the maid. We published in these pages in January 1891 an article by Father Wyndham, since embodied in the book among our headings, which gave an admirable *résumé* of the most recent writings on the subject down to that date, but the progress of events since then leaves room for much to be added by way of supplement to his essay. The introduction of the cause of the beatification and canonisation of Joan of Arc by the Congregation of Rites, bearing date January 27, 1894, had not then been decreed, giving, as it does, the preliminary imprimatur of the Church to the general belief in her sanctity by the title of Venerable it confers upon her. Only in the same year, too, was added perhaps the most important contribution to the literature of the subject by the publication of the second volume of Père Ayrole's monumental work on "La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc," entitled "La Paysanne et l'Inspirée, d'après ses aveux, les témoins oculaires, et la Libre Pensée." In this division of the work, which will require three more such volumes to complete it, the learned Jesuit gives us the most authoritative picture of Joan's early life yet published, placing her in the midst of the surroundings in which she lived, by reproducing for us in the chapters forming the first book the conditions of the Church of France, and of the native province and village of the Pucelle at the date of her

birth and subsequent years. While these details are found in the general history of the time, those of the personal life of this heroine are drawn almost exclusively from the records of the trials of Condemnation and Rehabilitation in which her career was examined with such opposite results. Her own answers during a prolonged and severe cross-examination by her judges form the material of inestimable value for posterity furnished by the first, while from the second are taken the depositions of thirty-four witnesses who had seen and known her during the first seventeen years of her life, recorded by a Pontifical Commission, which sat at Domrémy, at Vaucouleurs, and at Toul, twenty-five years after her execution. The very persecution of which Joan was the victim has thus been the means of transmitting to posterity a more detailed picture of her life and character than is preserved to us of any historical personage removed from us by so long an interval of time. We are enabled by this evidence to reconstruct for ourselves the everyday life and doings of the little village by the Meuse on which so fierce a light of fame has been shed, and to set in the midst of it her who shared its humble toils while in daily intercourse with the angels and saints of heaven.

Born on the night of the Epiphany in the year 1412, in the lowliest condition of life—if her parents were not indeed actual serfs, as the patent subsequently conferring nobility on her family gives some reason to believe—Joan came into the world when the Church was still distracted by the great schism, healed not quite six years later by the election of Martin V. Its effects in loosening the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline and undermining religious belief were felt long after, and doubtless prepared the way for the Lutheran revolt of the following century. In France the authority of the Pope was weakened by the concessions extorted by Gallicanism during that troublous period, when three rival pretenders to the Papacy claimed the allegiance of the faithful, and the great Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic were each split into two sections under superiors deriving their authority from the one or the other.

The disorders of the Church were reflected in those of civil society. The hostility of the two factions which convulsed France was exasperated into a blood feud by the successive

assassinations of the chiefs of both, while the English invader profited by these dissensions, and found an ally in one of the contending parties. To the miseries incident to civil war were added those inflicted by unlicensed marauders of all degrees, who took advantage of the prevailing anarchy to imitate the excesses of the bands of adventurers composing the regular armies. Every refinement of cruelty was practised on the unfortunate peasantry by these brigands. So great were their numbers that 10,000 were executed in Normandy alone in a single year, in addition to those hunted down as vermin in consideration of the price put on their heads. One chronicler tells us that from the Loire to the Seine, and from the Seine to the Somme, the cultivators having been slain or dispersed, the fields remained fallow, and the land without inhabitants. He had, he says, seen with his own eyes whole tracts of France—the vast plains of Champagne, the districts of Beauce, Maine, Perche and others, the French and Norman Vexin, the country of Caux from the Seine to Amiens and Abbeville, of Valois as far as Laon, and beyond it towards Hainault, “changed into deserts, uncultivated and fallow, without arms to plough them, covered with bush and brushwood. In most of these lands, where vegetation is most vigorous, I have seen shrubs growing so as to form tangled forests.”

The ground, he goes on to say, was only cultivated in the neighbourhood of towns, and of castles or fortified places, whence a sentinel could from some lofty tower descry the approach of bands of marauders, and give warning of it by the tolling of a bell or blast of a horn. All rushed from the fields to take refuge in a place of safety at the sound of the signal, which he declares was so familiar, that the very animals obeyed it of their own accord. Whole villages were depopulated and reduced to heaps of ruins, so that in one which had sheltered three thousand inhabitants, but seven remained. The capital itself was scarcely better off, and the journal of the *Faux Bourgeois* declares that wolves roamed at large through the streets, so that three or four were sometimes killed in a single night, to be afterwards carried through Paris hanging by their hind paws. The massacres perpetrated by the Burgundians on June 12 and 13, 1418, after they had been admitted by

treachery through one of the gates of the city, were a curious anticipation of those of the terrible days of September 1793. The prisons, as on that occasion, were broken open, and their inmates massacred indiscriminately, not only those of the opposite party, but all detained there for any reason. The streets ran red with blood, and the number of victims is estimated at from 1600 to 2000, the Bishops of Saintes, of Senlis, of Constance, Bayeux, and Evreux, being included in the number. It was as the ally of this party, which then included the mad King, Charles VI. and his Queen Isabeau, that the English conqueror, Henry V., entered Paris in 1420, having, by his victory of Agincourt five years before, rendered himself master of northern France, while by the treaty of Troyes, on his marriage with Katharine of France he had been declared heir after his father-in-law to the entire kingdom. The latter having survived him by two months, his infant son, Henry VI., inherited his claim, and was proclaimed King of France, of which his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, assumed the regency. A series of crushing defeats inflicted on the troops of the rival claimant, the Dauphin, now Charles VII., at Cravant, on July 31, 1423, Verneuil, on August 17, 1424, and Rouvray, on February 12, 1429, had wrested from him all his dominions beyond the Loire, with the sole exception of the fortress-sanctuary of Mont-St.-Michel in Normandy.

It was during the accomplishment of these disastrous events that the obscure peasant child of Domrémy was growing up to play so unexpected a part in the strife of captains and kings. Her native village then formed an *enclave* of French territory on the borders of the Empire, being almost surrounded by the territories of the Dukes of Bar and Lorraine, owing allegiance principally to the latter. Prophecy and tradition associated the spot with the appearance of a maiden deliverer of France, for Merlin had foretold, that from the bois chenu in the immediate neighbourhood of the hamlet "sortira une Pucelle qui apportera remède aux blessures," and Joan herself, though in her early life ignorant of this prediction, referred to another when urging the necessity of her journey to the Dauphin, in the following terms: "Do you not know that it has been prophesied that France should be lost by a woman, and raised up by a Virgin from the Marches of Lorraine?"

Her contemporaries, however, were far from connecting these ancient sayings with the little daughter of the poor peasants, Jacques d'Arc and Isabel Romée, who grew up in their midst undistinguished from her young companions save by her great though unostentatious piety. The *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, learned at her mother's knee, seem to have constituted her sole theological repertory, nor is there a record of her having been taught catechism or any regular summary of Christian doctrine. On the other hand she went frequently to confession, heard Mass whenever possible, and knelt in the fields as often as she heard the bell rung for any public practice of devotion. In the church she was a model of recollection, kneeling with her eyes fixed on the crucifix, or the image of our Lady, for which she loved to twine garlands of leaves or flowers when in the woods with her companions. To the sylvan sanctuary of Bermont, within a few miles of her home, she had a particular devotion, and made frequent Saturday pilgrimages to the shrine of our Lady there, in company with her sister and others. One of her companions, in her deposition twenty-five years after her death, declares that she was so good, simple, and pious, that she and the other girls often reproached her with being too devout, and a boy-playmate gives similar evidence :

I often saw Jeannette la Pucelle [he says]. In my young days I went with her leading her father's plough. I was with her in the pastures and fields with the other girls. Often while we were amusing ourselves together, Jeanne retired apart, and it seemed to me that she conversed with God. I and the others laughed at her.

No less charitable than devout, she not only gave what small alms she could, but often surrendered her own bed to wayfarers, sleeping, the witnesses say, in the oven, probably a sunken chamber heated for baking, such as was formerly attached to many houses. Perrin le Drapier testifies that when he was attached to the service of the church of Domrémy, Joan often reproached him for neglecting to ring for compline, and used to make him presents of wool on condition of his being more diligent in his office.

But the little maiden, so far from being dreamy or abstracted, is described by all the witnesses as most industrious in all household tasks, in spinning, and in tending her father's pigs

and poultry. As it was the custom for all the inhabitants to take turns in the care of the village flocks, Joan took her share of the duty on behalf of her father, being only in this partial sense a shepherdess. Her pride in her domestic accomplishments was shown in her naïve boast during the course of her trial, that in the use of the needle and distaff she did not fear the competition of any woman in Rouen.

The harmless survival of an ancient superstition among the peasantry of the Valley of the Meuse was wrested by her judges into the foundation of the charge of witchcraft, one of the chief of those on which she was condemned. Within a mile of Domrémy, on the road to Neufchâteau, was an ancient and spreading beech tree, known as *l'Arbre des Dames*, or *des Fées*, which had a legendary reputation as a favourite haunt and meeting place of "the women or ladies called fairies," though all the witnesses were agreed in declaring that they had never seen one, or known any one who had. Various reasons were assigned for their disappearance, one octogenarian ascribing it to the sins of the people, while others attributed it to the reading of the Gospel under the tree by the priest, when the cross was carried through the fields on Ascension Eve. The custom, however, survived for the boys and girls of the village, accompanied sometimes by the châtelaines of the neighbouring castle, to repair thither on the Sunday after mid-Lent, called *Lactare* from the opening words of the Mass, to dance and play under the tree, and drink from an adjacent fountain, while eating small loaves of bread brought with them on this gipsy feast. They did the same in the spring and in the month of May, when they sometimes made a "May man," probably what is in this country still called a "Jack in the Green." That Joan sometimes took part in this innocent recreation, though only, as some witnesses averred, in order not to appear singular, was made by her accusers ground for charging her with holding intercourse there with evil spirits. All the witnesses for her rehabilitation were therefore examined at great length on the subject, but were unanimous in deposing that she never went there alone or under any other circumstances than the above.

Another incident of her girlhood, about which a tissue of calumnious fable has been woven, was the flight to Neufchâteau

of all the villagers of Domrémy, when their homes were threatened by the approach of a band of marauders. That she went and returned in the company of her parents, and dwelt while there in the house occupied by them and many of their neighbours, was sworn to unanimously by all those examined on the subject, but this clear and direct testimony did not prevent the false version of the same incident from being repeated by many historians and made the basis of Voltaire's infamous drama. According to this travesty of the truth, she lived there as a servant in a low inn, frequented by soldiers and disorderly characters, acquiring her military tastes in this society, and her equestrian prowess by riding the horses to water. The culminating point of the tale was her suit against a young man for non-fulfilment of a promise of marriage, from which he obtained his release by pleading the bad company she had kept.

There is a conflict of opinion as to the date of this controverted occurrence, but Père Ayroles shows grounds for believing it to have taken place in 1425, when Joan was thirteen. The learned Jesuit identifies it, with every appearance of probability, with a raid on Domrémy by a celebrated marauder, Henri d'Olry, established by independent historical evidence as having occurred in that year. This freebooter carried off all the flocks and herds of the village with whatever other booty he could lay his hands on, but had a short-lived success, as the Dame d'Ogéwillers, into whose possession the domain of Domrémy had passed, made application, on the complaint of her vassals, to her powerful cousin, the Sire de Joinville, who sent his men-at-arms in pursuit of the raiders, and compelled them to disgorge their prey.

The story of Joan's girlhood closes with the episode of her citation before the Ecclesiastical Court of Toul by a young man who pretended to have received the promise of her hand, but whom she compelled, by the force of her eloquence, publicly to confess the falsity of his allegations. This pretended betrothal is supposed to have been a stratagem of her father's to withhold her from her mission, and was referred to by herself in her trial at Rouen, when she declared that she had always been obedient to her parents, except in the matter of the marriage at Toul.

Such were the simple and authentic details of the external life of the peasant maiden of Domrémy, detached from the

fabric of imaginary amplification and false interpretation that modern commentators have reared upon them. But to this apparently commonplace existence, differing in no wise from that of hundreds of girls of her age and time, there was a mysterious side unseen by the rest of the world. Joan was in her thirteenth year, when there began for her that double life, so strangely interwoven with her ordinary avocations, and forming the divinely appointed course of preparation for her sublime destiny. Its particulars would never have been known except for the malice of her persecutors, whose attempt to cover her with shame has but enhanced her glory. Derived entirely from her own avowals wrung from her under cross-examination, and thus registered as part of the proceedings of a judicial tribunal, they form, perhaps, the most wonderful record of spiritual experiences anywhere handed down to us. Those favoured with such communications are generally reluctant to speak of them, and Joan only did so when necessary for the explanation of her mission, or for her defence and justification in the course of her trial. During the years at Domrémy, she observed absolute silence on the subject, unless in so far as she may have confided in her confessor, although secrecy, as she has stated, was not enjoined on her. It must be borne in mind, as regards the credibility of statements so amazing, that they were authenticated by prodigies more amazing still, by the punctual fulfilment of her prophecies, no less than by her performance of a task impossible to unassisted human means.

Her supernatural life began when she was in her thirteenth year, in the summer of 1424, probably on May 31st, the vigil of the Ascension. In her father's garden, which adjoined the cemetery and church, towards midday, but before she had broken her fast, there appeared to her, as to the shepherds of Bethlehem, a great light and a number of angels, the chief of whom, as she afterwards knew, was St. Michael. This apparition, which she always speaks of as a voice, though she saw as well as heard, terrified her at first, she being then but a young child, but when she had heard it three times, she knew it was the voice of an angel. It admonished her to behave herself well and frequent the church, and told her "of the great pity of the Kingdom of France," showing her, as we may suppose, the grievous misfortunes and woes, of which a faint

picture has been given above. The voice continued two or three times a week to bid her leave her own country and go into France, so that, as she says, she

Could no longer endure the place in which she was abiding. The voice told me (she says) that I should raise the siege that had been laid to the town of Orleans; it afterwards bade me go to Robert de Baudricourt in the fortress of Vaucouleurs, of which he was the captain, and that he would give me people to conduct me. I replied to it, "I am a poor girl who does not know how to ride, and I do not understand war."

St. Michael, she said elsewhere, had taught and shown her many things, but it was not permitted to her to tell all that he had revealed to her.

But though the "Angel of Peril," as he is called in Brittany, never ceased to appear to her at intervals, he deputed Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antioch to be her more familiar and constant counsellors. The archangel himself prepared her for their coming, according to her own statement as follows:

When St. Michael came to me, he told me that St. Catherine and St. Margaret would come. He desired me to act according to their counsels, that they were ordered to direct and advise me in what I had to do, that I should believe what they told me, for such was the command of our Lord.

These saints appeared to her thenceforward under an invariable form, wearing very rich crowns of great price, though as to the remainder of their attire, she either could not or would not speak. They were as real to her, she declared, as any of the human beings about her, and she not only saw, but touched them, embracing their knees and feet with great reverence and devotion. When they departed from her she often wept, and longed to accompany them. They guided her conduct in the most minute particulars, and sometimes one and sometimes the other desired her to go to confession, even when she was not conscious of being in mortal sin. For the last seven years of her life she lived in constant communion with these celestial visitors, who sometimes came spontaneously, and sometimes in answer to her earnest prayer that they might be sent to her assistance. Once, indeed, she disobeyed them, when through impatience, like Moses when he struck the rock a second time, she jumped from the tower of Beaurevoir, where she was

hemmed in by the enemy, in order to come to the assistance of Compiègne then threatened. The saints, she says, seeing the great necessity she was under, came to her help and saved her life, but desired her to go to confession after this transgression.

During her trial and imprisonment she appealed constantly to her voices for help and counsel, and received it several times a day. She sorely needed their consoling presence during that cruel imprisonment when she was cut off from all the external solaces of religion, and guarded by brutal soldiers night and day. A final triumph was promised to her, but in terms so vague as to leave her doubtful of the manner of her deliverance.

St. Catherine has told me that I should have help (she said to her judges). I do not know whether it will be by being delivered out of prison, or that when I am brought up for judgment some trouble will arise by which I shall be released. I think it will be one or other. Most frequently the voices say to me that I shall be delivered by a great victory; and they say to me afterwards: "Accept all willingly; do not be uneasy about your martyrdom; you shall come at last into the kingdom of Paradise." The voices say that to me simply, absolutely—that is to say, without fail. I call this martyrdom the great pain and adversity I suffer in prison. I do not know whether I shall suffer still greater, but I leave it to our Lord.

Thus they predicted her end clearly, but allowed her to put her own interpretation on their words, as we may believe in mercy in order to spare her the tortures of anticipation. In the same way, when she asked them whether she should be burned, they gave no direct reply, but desired her to leave all to our Lord and that He would help her. They had foretold her capture at Compiègne, as she described in the following answer.

During last Easter week, when I was in the ditches of Mélnun, it was said to me by my voices—that is to say, St. Catherine and St. Margaret—that I should be taken before St. John's Day; that this must be, and not to let myself be cast down, but to accept all cheerfully and that God would help me.

And to the further question as to whether the prediction had been repeated later, she answered:

They have said it to me several times, so to say every day. I begged of them that when I should be taken I might die quickly without

long travail in prison, and they said to me to accept all cheerfully, for thus it must be, but they did not tell me the hour. Several times I have asked to know the hour, but they did not tell me.

Thus the curtain of the future was only partially lifted for her, and she was not permitted a foreknowledge that might have overborne even her lofty spirit.

The three supernal visitants who fulfilled the office of her special counsellors were not the only members of the court of heaven whom she was privileged to see. St. Gabriel is mentioned as having appeared to her at least once, and in another part of her evidence she says she had "often seen angels amongst Christians." Her eyes were opened to perceive the invisible presences hidden from the grosser sense of ordinary mortals though never absent from their midst.

One of the most interesting of the contemporary accounts of the maid is contained in a letter written by de Boulainvilliers, Councillor and Chamberlain of Charles VII., to Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, when she was at the zenith of her career. Her visions are here described as consisting of a luminous cloud, whence a voice issued; and from her habitually speaking of her monitors as voices, we may assume as probable that this was their ordinary form, while the visible apparitions were exceptional. She declares in her evidence, by way of explanation, that when she used the word voice, she also meant the light which accompanied it, saying that she rarely heard it without seeing the light, that there was a great deal of light on all sides, and that all the light did not extend to her. This phrase doubtless means that it did not surround or envelop her, but was seen externally to her own position. We have thus as clear an idea as can be gathered of phenomena so entirely without the range of ordinary experience, of the mysterious communications by which Joan was, during the five years previous to her public appearance, prepared and fortified for her extraordinary mission.

To explain away the supernatural character of the latter, while assigning to the heroine her undoubted place in the national history, has been a difficult task for the modern school of rationalism, with Michelet at its head. Joan's contemporary enemies simplified it by treating her as a sorceress whose visions and inspiration were of the other world indeed, but

from below, instead of from above. Joan was condemned and executed as a witch by a court of French ecclesiastics, under the influence of the University of Paris, and in the interests of the Anglo-Burgundian party. Her detractors in our day are satisfied with proclaiming her a life-long monomaniac, the victim of hallucinations produced on an overwrought brain by the political convulsions of the time. Cases of similar delusions abound, indeed, in lunatic asylums, as the self-importance of their inmates seeks gratification in the fancied assumption of spiritual exaltation or divine inspiration. There is only this one cardinal point of difference between such patients and the regeneratress of France, that they do not perform the prodigies they announce, or justify their pretensions to celestial aid by the execution of designs impossible to unaided earthly powers. The signs and wonders wrought by the maid were the convincing proofs of the genuineness of her mission, and the one set of phenomena is only explicable in the light of the other. These proofs were of a twofold character, consisting of prophecy and the fulfilment of prophecy in the accomplishment of the events foretold. Her earliest recorded utterance as to her own future was spoken to one of her boy companions, who, in his testimony in the process of rehabilitation, declared that she had once told him on the eve of St. John that "there was a young girl between Coussey and Vaucouleurs (two points on either side of Domrémy) who would cause the King of France to be anointed within the year." In point of fact, he added, the King was crowned at Rheims the following year. Her mission had, however, already been proclaimed in general terms, as her first appeal to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs, for an escort to convey her to the Dauphin had been made about the time of the Feast of the Ascension previous. On October 12, in the same year 1428, had begun the memorable siege of Orleans, the crisis of the most tragic period of French history.

De Baudricourt having twice repulsed Joan's solicitations, contemptuously bidding her friends take her home and box her well, she backed her third appeal to him on February 12, 1429, by the announcement of the crushing defeat of Rouvray, which took place on that day at a distance of 100 leagues from the scene of the conversation. By this sign she finally

vanquished the resistance of the stout soldier, who had doubtless previously thought, like M. Michelet, that he was dealing with one demented. As soon as sufficient time had elapsed for the fact to be certified—viz., in nine days after, she was on her way to the Dauphin, with the red dress she had worn on her arrival exchanged for a suit of male attire, assumed in obedience to the instructions of her supernatural counsellors. The way, she declared, was open before her, although it lay for 150 leagues through the enemy's country, and so in fact it proved. She reached the royal headquarters at the castle of Chinon in Touraine without impediment, travelling principally by night during the eleven days that she was on the road. Here she was subjected to a fresh test before being admitted to see the King, termed by her Dauphin, until after his consecration and coronation. Pronounced irreproachable by a committee of learned divines, at whose hands she underwent a most rigorous examination during six weeks, she was at last admitted to the royal presence, and identified the King in the midst of the circle, although he sought to embarrass her by pointing out another as himself. His doubts and hesitations were put to flight by her proof of miraculous knowledge of his most intimate thoughts in a reference to a secret known only to himself and heaven. It is believed, although there is no certain evidence on the point, to have been a painful doubt as to his birth, long the subject of his earnest prayers, which she was divinely permitted to clear up by the words in which she addressed him.

I tell thee on the part of my Lord (she is reported to have said) that thou art true heir of France and son of the King, and He sends me to thee to lead thee to Rheims, that there thou mayest receive thy coronation and consecration if thou wilt.

His face was seen "inundated with a great joy" on receipt of her communication, and from that moment he accepted her mission.

To her examiners at Poitiers she had declared that she would show a sign before Orleans, for such was the Divine will. This she did as soon as a force was placed at her disposal, first by leading a convoy of provisions into the town, in full sight of the besiegers, who looked on as if spell-bound, and then by the series of brilliant sallies, in which, as she

had repeatedly promised, she defeated and shattered their forces, compelling them to raise the siege on May 8, 1429.

The second great sign of her mission, the coronation of the King at Rheims, was accomplished in the face of difficulties that rendered it humanly speaking impossible, the intervening country with a number of strongly fortified towns being in the hands of the enemy. Yet her march through it resembled a triumphal progress, many of the towns opening their gates on the appearance of the royal army, and the ceremony was performed on July 17, in less than three months from the time when she first assumed command. Among other predictions recorded of her, was the recommendation to make all possible use of her, as she would "only last a year." This was almost literally fulfilled, as her capture at Compiègne, on May 24, 1430, was within thirteen months of her first feat of arms, the revictualling of Orleans on April 29 of the previous year. In the course of her trial she made several prophecies, registered by her enemies themselves, such as the total expulsion of the English and reconquest of the entire kingdom, the peace of Arras and recovery of Paris before seven years. Even the sword habitually used by her, as a symbol only, not an implement of slaughter, for she shed no blood with her own hands, was a testimony to her supernatural gifts, as it was found buried at a great depth behind the altar of the Church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, where it was sought in obedience to her directions.

The theory of modern historians that Joan's direct mission ended with the coronation at Rheims, and that her continuance in command was an arbitrary extension of her celestial mandate, is shown by Father Wyndham to be a conclusion unauthorized by contemporary records. It is true that intrigues and counter-influences, paralysed in the first joy of a great deliverance, began thenceforward to reassert themselves, and that her authority ceased to be accepted with unquestioning docility by leaders to whom the triumphs of the girl-warrior were a reproach. The sternness, too, with which she repressed the license of the camp, must have rendered her rule distasteful to the rude soldiery accustomed to make war the pretext and apology for all excesses. Some consciousness of waning authority is betrayed in one of her answers to her

judges, in which she declared that had she lasted three years "without obstacle" she would have delivered the Duke of Orleans, and presumably accomplished the remainder of her task of expelling the English from her native soil. But that she had personally ceased to be guided and inspired by heaven throughout the second, as well as the first phase of her career, is a gratuitous assumption of modern criticism.

It is a curious fact that Joan is most commonly known to posterity by names she never bore in her lifetime. When asked at the opening of her trial what her surname was, she replied that her father's was d'Arc, and her mother's Romée, and that the girls in her country usually were called by that of their mother. She, however, throughout her life, never styled herself, or was styled by others save as Jeanne la Pucelle, by which title she was addressed by her celestial monitors, frequently with the addition of "Fille de Dieu." Thus to her contemporaries she was the Maid *par excellence*, the distinctive "of Orleans" having been added by later times. It has, however, been adopted in the decree concerning her beatification, in which she is styled "The Venerable Servant of God, Joan of Arc, Virgin, called 'The Maid of Orleans.'" If, as we may hope, her cause proceeds through its further stages to her canonisation, it will be by the name of St. Joan of Arc that she will be raised to the honours of the altars.

It may be permissible to speculate why, on behalf of France among all countries that have suffered similar miseries, so violent a deviation should have been made from the ordinary laws guiding human events, why a miraculous deliverance should have been wrought by the visible intervention of heaven in favour of a particular people not more deserving apparently than many others of such special care.

A possible answer to the question may be found in the history of the subsequent century, when the tenets of the Reformation, had the two countries remained under a single rule, might have been forced upon France by the same violent means used by Henry VIII. and his successors to compel their acceptance by England. The former was thus preserved by the instrumentality of the maid from a moral disaster incomparably greater than all the material woes from which she was delivered by the same means, while the Catholic Church was spared a

secession which would have been almost equivalent to the extinction of its authority in Europe. Joan, looked at in this light, was the champion not of her own country alone, but of the spiritual kingdom of the universe, prepared from her earliest youth for that exalted mission by the direct ministry of the angels and saints of heaven. And as the armed maiden, heroic in suffering as in war, she was the most perfect type of that Church militant whose battle she fought during her short life on earth.

We cannot read the story of Joan of Arc without being struck with the analogy it presents on many points, with the other mysterious supernatural manifestation of which France has in our own time been chosen as the scene. The visions that have made the Pyrenean sanctuary a place of pilgrimage for all nations, though directed to a different end, have many features in common with those which have consecrated the little village by the Meuse to their sublime memories. Bernadette, like Joan, was an uncultured peasant child, in no way distinguished from thousands of her class, when she, like Joan, was chosen as the instrument of a marvellous revelation. She, too, in her simplicity, did not at first sight recognise the transcendent majesty of the supernal apparition, and was in similar fashion schooled by a series of communications, in the nature of the message she was to deliver to the world. Nor was there, in either case, any such suspension of the natural faculties as produces the state of ecstasy or trance, for Bernadette, while gazing on her vision, could describe it in detail to the companions around her, and Joan's playfellows told at the end of years how sometimes in their sports she would withdraw apart and seem as though communing with heaven, though evidently not wrapt from ordinary consciousness. Both Joan and Bernadette were in all matters external to their respective missions, of absolute simplicity of manners and undowered with any exceptional faculties, though gifted within the range of the duties imposed on them, with wisdom that baffled all the devices of human intelligence to thwart or entrap it. Fidelity to their appointed tasks was the distinguishing characteristic of each, for as the terrors of death itself could not bring the shepherdess of the Meuse to gainsay the genuineness of her inspiration, so the

cross-examination of the keenest wits in France failed to elicit from her of the Gave, during the eight years that she remained to answer all the inquiries of the curious and sceptical, a single word in contradiction of the wonderful tale recited by her with such unvarying precision. The little witness of Our Lady was no less faithful to her vocation than the disciple of the Archangel to her more strenuous call.

To the latter it was given to smite with the sword of heaven the armed invaders encamped on the soil of ancient France.

The child of Lourdes was summoned from her simple rural tasks to do battle against a subtler enemy in a holier cause. It was Bernadette Soubiron's part to uphold the standard of Our Lady in the war waged at the present day by gross materialism against supernatural belief, which has inflicted on modern France evils far transcending those from which Joan of Arc was four and a half centuries ago divinely commissioned to deliver her.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. V.—THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE: THE TWO STAGES OF THEIR INTER- RELATION.

THE Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, addressed by the Holy Father last December to the Bishops throughout the Catholic world, with a view to reorganising the study of Scripture chiefly in the seminaries, and reaffirming the Church's traditional teaching respecting the Divine Authorship, Plenary Inspiration and Inerrancy of Holy Writ, has drawn renewed attention to a subject which anyhow, here in England, is always and increasingly with us—the complicated, difficult, unavoidable subject of the Bible, of the Bible and the Church, of the Bible in the Church. It is obvious, however, that not even the Encyclical itself, with all its range and authority, could enter, or indeed intend to enter, into all the many important previous, and permanent, and secondary questions, assumptions and applications which its own principles open out. And so much of this Bible question is a mixed one—is so much one for scholars and historians as well as theologians—that it may perhaps not ill-become me, all lay-student though I be, if, with a careful attention to the Encyclical throughout, I attempt some account of the specifically Catholic conception of the Bible, and as to how and where within the Catholic system I conceive we ought to locate the different branches of Biblical research.* I will do my best to give, theologically, but the common or at least approved teaching; and critically, but such conclusions as would appear to be reasonably certain, and as have already gained appreciable Catholic support. I hope to succeed in helping on these important questions which have engaged my close attention for many a year, by simply exhibiting, in due sequence and proportion, facts and principles generally

* I have striven hard nowhere to exceed the bounds of a loyal interpretation of a document which, especially in its doctrinal portions, claims the docility and obedience of us all. And this especially in view of the attacks, in part unmeasured and unmannerly, which the Encyclical's transparent love of Scripture and of souls ought surely to have moderated.

admitted, but often only piecemeal, and without due attention to inter-relation and relative importance. I am profoundly convinced that it is only in a duly proportioned and consistent adherence to Catholic principles and analogies—the Catholic system, the whole Catholic system, and nothing but the Catholic system—that a satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the subject will be found. Hence I would propose that each step and stage of the inquiry be read in the light of all the others, and that the whole be taken but as so much material for the criticism and judgment of the Catholic Church.

As the basis of the two following articles, I propose to show first, how all human apprehension of things both human and divine, whether in the form of Faith or of Reason, ever must and does grow and move on towards comprehension without ever reaching it; and next, that Reason, which necessarily begins with assumptions, as necessarily ends in Faith, and that both Faith and Reason begin and end with moral dispositions and moral acts and truths. I will go on to show that the apprehensions of Faith, ever growing by development of doctrine, and the apprehensions of Reason, ever growing by the accumulation of its materials and the perfecting of its methods, have in Biblical, as in other theological sciences, each a large domain already mapped out for the characteristic activities of each; and this, by the very necessities and obligations of the Catholic position. For that, though man's very Creation would seem to involve Revelation, indeed the Incarnation, and the latter to necessarily involve its extension—the Church; yet neither Revelation nor the Incarnation nor the Church necessarily involve the Bible as such, but only as containing certain documents of human authority. Now this human authority has to be established by human, historical means and methods—our first stage. The free act of Faith, acting, under the illumination and impulsion of grace, upon this and other cumulative evidence, brings us to the divine authority of the Church. And by the Church alone we are then conclusively taught the existence, nature, and range of the divine authority of the Bible—certain truths and facts above and additional to the legitimate operations and conclusions of Reason. For at this, our second stage, Reason is still busy—busy with that local and temporal adaptation of

the divine Message, which Faith agrees with Reason in finding throughout the Bible, whilst Faith alone can with certainty everywhere find and define the divine Message itself.

At each stage there is Faith: in the first, pure Theism; in the second, Catholicism. At each stage there is Reason: in the first, leading up to Faith; in the second, transcended by it. At each stage as elsewhere Faith remains Faith and grows, Reason remains Reason and grows too. They are Mary and Martha involving, stimulating, supplementing one another.

The first two articles will consider the Bible *quâ* human document, previous to belief in the Church; the third will consider it *quâ* divine library, received as such from the hands of the Church.

I.

1. I begin with our highest doctrine, pushed to its legitimate limit, and that not on the part of the modern mind, so liable to extremes of all kinds, but on the part of the traditional teaching of our theologians—based upon the clearest utterances of Scripture, the Fathers, and Reason, and contained in every manual of theology: I mean the incomprehensibility and ineffableness of God for all but Himself, both here and hereafter.

Dr. M. Scheeben, in his highly authorised "Dogmatik" (Freiburg, 1873s.), tells us, vol. i. p. 571, how that the doctrine that "God is, for all beings beside Himself, absolutely unfathomable and incomprehensible, and this even supernaturally and in the immediate vision of God, is *de fide*." Specially in consequence of the profession of Faith *Firmiter* of the fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) in which God is declared *incomprehensibilis* as absolutely as *immense* and *omnipotent*; repeated by the Vatican Council, sess. 3, c. i. And further that "the expression *incomprehensibilis* has at all times been so uniformly understood in this absolute sense, as to render the apparent exception of single theologians, such as Thomassin, in favour of the soul of Christ very suspect, and, in any case, to but strengthen the rule for all mere creatures." And, on p. 573, he tells us that "God is inexpressible first in this sense that the knowledge to be expressed is never and nowhere an exhaustive one, and all the more for man in this life, the further his knowledge of God is removed from—we will not say an exhaustive knowledge, but even from one which in its degree would give Him as He is in Himself"; and that this is *de fide*. And that, secondly, "God is inexpressible also in this sense that the finite mind is incapable, whether with or without signs, of giving such an expression to the highest knowledge of God of which it is

capable, *i.e.*, the intuitive, as to be capable of imparting it to other minds"; and that this is as certain as God's invisibleness. And that, thirdly, "it is highly probable that God is ineffable also in this sense, that the blessed in the direct vision of His essence are incapable of giving internal expression, even for themselves alone, to their knowledge, a thing possible and natural in the case of all other acts of cognition. According to this view God appears ineffable to the point of being incapable of being expressed as He is in Himself, we will not say adequately, but at all. This is the doctrine of many of the older Thomists, and again of Borgianelli. It pushes to its extreme consequence the conception that the Infinite is incapable of having a homogeneous representation in the Finite, which would so express and represent the Infinite as it is in itself. And, again, it insists that the mind, in the vision of God, is so borne by God and sunk in Him, that it is incapable of enclosing and expressing its vision by an idea—in a manner similar though not identical to that in which the soul, even here below, becomes speechless when face to face with some overwhelming spectacle, and, entirely absorbed by the impression, is incapable of so mastering what it sees as to strive or even be able to fix it in definite ideas."

Identical teaching will be found in the Jesuit Fr. Hurter's "*Theologiae Dogmaticæ Compendium*," ed. 1893, vol. ii. pp. 14–20. He tells us how Thomassin, the great French seventeenth century Oratorian, in his "*De Deo*," vi. 19, "inculcates well, with regard to this complex question, that we ought to be mindful that the very incomprehensibleness of God is itself incomprehensible." He quotes St. Augustine, who will have it that God is even more ineffable than He is incomprehensible, and who says ("*De Trinit.*," vii. 4): "God is more truly thought than He is expressed, and He more truly is than He is thought"; and St. Gregory the Great, who writes ("*Mor.*," l. 20, c. 32, n. 62): "Well-nigh all indeed that is said of God is already unworthy of Him for the very reason that it could be said."

And next I would point out that it is just this absolute incomprehensibility which gives room for a continuous apprehension on and on, ever fresh and ever new, of the one inexhaustible God; and this, not only here but even, indeed still more hereafter.

As Leibniz has it: *

Our supreme felicity (by whatever beatific vision or knowledge of God it be accompanied) can never be full, because God being infinite, He can never be entirely known. Hence our happiness will never consist in an exhaustive enjoyment in which there would be nothing left to desire and which would stupify our mind, but in a perpetual progress to new pleasures and to new perfections.

* "*Philosophische Schriften*," ed. Gerhardt, v. vi. p. 606.

Scripture gives us both aspects when, in Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxiv., v. 29, it tells us: "They that drink me, shall yet thirst," and, in St. John, ch. iv. v. 13, it gives our Lord's words: "He that shall drink of the water that I will give him, shall not thirst for ever." Or as St. Irenæus says: *

Among the things we find in Scripture—since all Scripture is spiritual—some things indeed we understand according to the grace of God, but other things are left to the knowledge of God; and this not only in this life, but also in the world to come, so that God may teach for ever, and man may throughout learn from God. . . . For Faith in our Teacher endures firm for ever . . . so that we may love Him truly for ever, because He alone is the Father; and may hope continually to receive more and to learn from God, because He is good and possesses unlimited riches, a Kingdom without end, and a teaching which is immeasurable.

And Dr. Hettinger† adds well:

In the life of time, the contrasts of activity and rest, of desire and possession are separate; here they are conjoined: the Blessed are ever desiring, ever receiving, ever striving, ever possessing; they ever are blessed and ever becoming blessed.

And finally, whilst holding with all philosophers that acts of the understanding are the necessary antecedents and condition of acts of the will, and with all theologians that one of the essential constituents of the soul's action and joy in heaven, its vision, is intellectual—I would take sides with the Scotists and the many other highly authorised theologians who make the soul's culminating action and happiness to consist specifically in acts of the will, of love consequent upon the sight.‡ In this case, the supreme perfection of the creature, which Lessius holds § to consist chiefly in the vision, would be identical with the supreme honour of God, which, according to him, consists chiefly in the love: the soul's supreme perfection and happiness would reside in the will and would be moral. I would say with Bossuet: ||

True and perfect knowledge is a source of love; and, inversely, we know God truly when we love Him: a speculative and simply curious knowledge is not that knowledge in which Christ declares that eternal

* "Adv. Haer.," l. ii. c. 28, n. 3.

† Apologie des christenthums, 1869, ii. 2, p. 284.

‡ See Ripalda, "De Ente Supernaturali," ed. 1666, v. iii. pp. 350, 358, 362.

§ "De Summo Bono," l. ii. c. 6.

|| "Méditations," ii°. p. 27^e.

life consists. The devils know God in this manner, and their knowledge but produces their pride and their condemnation. . . . The more we advance in the knowledge of God, the more we see, as it were, that we know nothing that would be worthy of Him ; and, by transcending all that we have ever thought of Him or could think of Him throughout eternity, we praise Him in his incomprehensible truth ; and we lose ourselves in this praise, and we try to make up by loving for what is wanting to our knowledge.

Yes, an eternal vision ; but one that, if it be *beatific*, if it move to delight, surely first moves to love as well and even more. So would moral acts be rewarded by being given "the glory of going on and still to be" supreme ; so would an indefinitely increased and intuitive and indefectible knowledge but lead to an immense expansion of the powers of love, and the will, and the moral nature, paramount there as here. Christianity, depend upon it, is not a deferred intellectualism, and the order of value and dignity between our faculties—heighten and deepen these faculties as you will—will be preserved by the God Whose grace does not destroy nature but perfects it, and Who has Himself revealed to us that He has made us in His own likeness and that He Himself is Love.

2. Now these three characteristics of the Creator and of our knowledge of Him : incomprehensibility, indefinite apprehensibility, and the supremacy of the ethical, we find them in their degree in all creatures and in our knowledge of them. And as the creature observed or the creature observing rise in the scale of truly living life—in proportion to their approximation to the Creator—in the same proportion does this object of knowledge, and does the knowledge itself participate in those characteristics of the Lord and giver of Life. Conceive of anything as exhaustively comprehensible, or again, as not indefinitely knowable, or finally, as not involving or leading at its best and highest to moral questions and to moral acts, and you have discrowned life and ruined science. Here is the point where Faith and Science are not only supplementary but alike ; here it is that the true temper and implications of Faith can alone discipline the mind's untempered desires and save them from swinging from the comprehension of Hegel back to the agnosticism of Herbert Spencer. Faith alone can keep us moving on and on, and up and up, in constant growth and movement, the will ever transcending the understanding, and

The fuller objects and the supreme object of both will and understanding ever seen and felt to transcend both.

And the history of souls at all times, and of science especially since its new birth at the Renaissance, have ever been but an ever-deepening commentary on these truths. Copernicus, and Galileo and the first telescope, and Kepler, with such dates as 1543, 1610, 1618; the first microscope, with such dates as 1590 and 1621; Geology, with no date of importance earlier than the forties of last century—what a tardy expansion, at first painful, then delightful, do they not represent of our conceptions regarding the most elementary objects of sense which have been above our heads, beneath our feet, in every drop of water, ever since our human race began! And so also with historical method and discovery: the history of the unmemorial East, of Greece and of Rome, of the ancient Philosophies and heathen religions has greatly gained, even during the last sixty years, in depth and accuracy and range. And so, in its own way, with the spiritual life: a Tauler appears and causes whole audiences to faint away under the intensity of the apprehension he awakens of the circumambient world unseen, so fully believed but so dimly apprehended throughout the life-time of the many; and a St. Catherine of Genoa gives theologians much to do in explaining and finding room for the fresh materials which her close contact with the hidden realities brings to their science. And so, indeed, in its own peculiar fashion and degree, even with doctrine and dogma: there is there a growth and development as remarkable as is the identity of principle and idea and moral personality underlying all. Some such tardy and intermittent awakening, some such startling novelty we shall then be prepared to find

Biblical science also, in so far as it has affinity with the natural and purely historical sciences, and is not occupied with the dogmatic or devotional facts and meaning of the Books; and this development of doctrine and dogma, we shall expect to find in the Bible itself.

3. Now all this, if, normally and in the long run, it but adds to the depth and breadth of our conceptions of even the least constituents of this "wide, wide world," and, still more, of the world's great Maker, is also but too capable of, accidentally and frequently, confusing and upsetting the very convictions

which it should but widen and confirm. And yet it is these pre- and trans-scientific convictions which are the very salt of all true life, of the life of science itself, and the true measure of the true depth and dignity of a period. As the largely sceptical Dr. R. Eucken strikingly says of the world of culture characteristic of our time : *

The world of culture shows throughout its entire extent a peculiar contrast, a junction of overflowing riches and painful poverty. Here, brilliant achievements in the scientific and technical conquest of surrounding nature, in the historic reconstruction of all that mankind has ever done or experienced, in the apt organisation of existing forces with a view to common action ; there, complete uncertainty, indeed the lack of all that concerns first principles, comprehensive convictions, creative ideas ; in the former, the present gigantically superior to all previous times, in the latter, poorer, emptier than any epoch within the memory of history.

Less than ever then must we look to the world for life's dynamics ; less than ever should we be dazzled by life's mechanics which are all the world has to give : the former, even alone, are what makes life worth living ; the latter, if alone, are but a brilliant barbarism.

And there is always some danger of our losing the greater by too eagerly seeking after the lesser, because of the strain and cost of keeping intellectual self-control and, with it, that " Faith which comes " in part " from self-control." And this will be so specially in times of change in the direction of men's observation and in the furniture of their imagination. As Cardinal Newman says : †

Few men have that power of mind which may hold fast and firmly a variety of thoughts. We ridicule " men of one idea," but a great many of us are born to be such, and we should be happier if we knew it. To most men argument makes the point in hand only more doubtful, and considerably less impassive. After all, man is *not* a reasoning animal ; he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal. He is influenced by what is direct and precise.

4. And yet, if to give to Science the things that are of Science, and to Faith the things that are of Faith, is a task and duty neglected by the many, and but imperfectly accomplished

* " Die Weltanschauungen der grossen Denker," 1890, p. 1.

† " Discussions and Arguments," 1893, p. 294.

by all but a very few—the number of those who realise the importance of this harmony and reconciliation is growing both within and without the Church. Lessing, indeed, could still write as though the actual alternative lay between truth and stagnation, and movement and error. For he says: “If God held enclosed in His right hand all truth, and in His left hand the ever active longing for truth, but with the concomitant of erring always and for ever, and if He were to say to me: ‘Choose!’ I would humbly cast myself into this His left hand and would say: ‘Father, give me this! truth pure and simple is for Thee alone.’” Even Emil Scherer could, thirty years ago, go so far as to exclaim: “Certainty—terrible word!” But the younger generation around us now is largely lending noble utterance for a fuller and a truer creed. Witness Professor Butcher, the Greek scholar, who tells us:*

It is in the confluence of the Hellenic stream of thought with the waters that flow from Hebrew sources that the main direction of the world's progress is to be sought. The two tendencies summed up in the words Hebraism and Hellenism are often regarded as opposing and irreconcilable forces; and, indeed, it is only in a few rarely gifted individuals that these principles have been perfectly harmonised. Yet harmonised they can and must be. How to do so is one of the problems of modern civilisation; how we are to unite the dominant Hebrew idea of a divine law of righteousness and of a supreme spiritual faculty with the Hellenic conception of human energies, manifold and expansive, each of which claims for itself unimpeded play; how life may gain unity without incurring the reproach of onesidedness; how, in a word, religion may be combined with culture.

Witness Mr. Claude Montefiore, that distinguished Jewish scholar, so hypercritical in much, so nobly full of Christian sympathies in more, who thus concludes a lecture on Hebrew and Greek Ideas of Providence and Retribution:†

We have listened to many noble passages, both from Hebrew and Hellenic lips. We listen to them reverently and accept them gladly for what they are worth—palliatives, but not solutions; suggestive hints, but not complete explanations. If, indeed, the great problem were explained, where would be the need of Faith? and if Faith lost its need or its difficulty, it would lose its glory. But whatever may be the knowledge of the angels or of ourselves in another world, in this life the faith which

* “Some Aspects of the Greek Genius,” 1891.

† *Jewish Quarterly*, vol. v. p. 589.

"throws itself without reserve into the arms of God," is surely one of the most glorious of the varied capacities and endowments of man. As, the more vividly the problem is realised, the more vivid must be the faith which can yet believe, so of our own private sorrows and disappointments, which on the old view may seem undeserved, or on a higher view may seem needless or wanton, we may also struggle to prove that the greater the blow or the keener the sorrow the deeper the purification, the more single and devoted the will to which the suffering and the sorrow may lead.

Witness, finally, among Catholics, such vivid apprehension of the spaciousness, the movement and growth, the warmth and assimilating power of the true genius of Christianity and of the Church, as is to be found throughout the remarkable books of M. Ollé-Laprune,* and the astonishingly living pages of M. Maurice Blondel's fine book, "*l'Action*."†

II.

1. Now our first discrimination in our special subject had best be that between Revelation and the Church—Inspiration or assistance to speak on the one hand, and Scripture—Inspiration to write on the other hand. We cannot well conceive of God making rational minds, requiring the Infinite and yet "cabined and failing for breath" in the finite, and not revealing Himself to them. And how grand is the Franciscan idea of not only Revelation but the Incarnation also being independent of the Fall and of Redemption, so that, even if the Fall had never been, God would still have become Man, would still have mercifully met us half-way!† And this necessary Revelation and Incarnation—necessary, that is, as a consequence of free creation—we cannot well conceive of them without a home or an instrument of propagation, without that "extension of the Incarnation," the Church. But we can well conceive of Revelation as given and maintained without Scripture.

* "*La Certitude Morale*," 1880; "*La Philosophie et les Temps Présents*," 1890; "*Les Sources de la Paix Intellectuelle*," 1893; "*Le Prix di la Vie*," 1894. Paris, Berlin.

† Paris: Alcan. 1893.

‡ See the very interesting account in Dr. Westcott's "*Epistles of St. John*," second edition, pp. 283-328; and Mgr. Gay's "*De la Vie et des Vertus Chrétiennes*," Three vols. Paris: Oudin.

2. As a matter of fact and of history, the communication of Revelation by God to its minister was, of course, always mental, and never by writing; nor would it be easy, perhaps even possible, to find, even in the Old Testament, examples of Revelation being in the first instance communicated in writing by its ministers to their audiences. As to the New Testament, we find in St. Paul's Epistles continual proofs that they are but occasional and complementary to his systematic oral teaching, which latter would extend over weeks and months and years. "Faith cometh by hearing," he says himself.* Indeed, we know that our Lord Himself communicated the Christian, the final Revelation by word of mouth alone, and never ordered anything to be written down, nor any already existing writings to be read. Again and again He says to the Apostles, "teach," and to all others, "hear"; nowhere does He say, "write," nowhere, "read." Now this is a far-reaching fact, which the best modern Protestant scholarship fully accepts. Our Lord's words in John v. 39, which alone would seem to militate against it, and which our Rheims New Testament still gives as: "Search the Scriptures," are now more properly translated, both in the English Protestant Revised Version, and in the German critical translation of Dr. Weizsäcker: "Ye search the Scriptures." And Bishop Westcott in England, Professor Godet in Switzerland, and Drs. Meyer and B. Weiss and H. Holtzmann and others in Germany, all agree with Catholic scholars to the Indicative rendering as against the Imperative. And, again, these same authors (Meyer excepted) agree that the following words, "for you think in them to have eternal life," necessarily involve some contrast to the true, our Lord's own, thinking.

3. And as to the principle involved in these facts, we have an admirable vindication of the Catholic position by so impartial, indeed so largely destructive, a Protestant critic as Lessing, who, already in 1778, lays down, amongst others, the following propositions:†

(5) Religion existed before there was a Bible. Of course, a revealed religion cannot exist before it has been revealed. But it can exist before being written down.

* Rom. x. 17.

† Lessing's "*Werke*," ed. 1874, vol. x. pp. 111-116.

(6) Christianity existed before Evangelists and Apostles had written. An appreciable time passed before the first of them wrote; and a very considerable time before the whole Canon was established.

(7) However much then may depend on these writings, the whole truth of the Christian religion cannot possibly depend on them. I mean, the religion of the Old and New Testaments is thinkable without these books. Indeed, I do not know that any orthodox Protestant has maintained that religion was first revealed in or by one of these books. Rather is it admitted by all learned and thinking theologians that in these books Revelation has been preserved only occasionally, and more or less of it at various times. This more or less, must have been true before it was thus occasionally preserved in writing, and is it to be now looked upon as true simply *because* it has been preserved in writing?

(8) If there was a time when the Christian religion was already so widely propagated, in which it had already mastered so many souls, and in which, notwithstanding, not a letter was as yet recorded of that which has come down to us; then it must also be possible that all that has been written by Evangelists and Apostles should again be lost, and that, all the same, the religion taught by them should continue to exist.

And again on a later occasion :*

(15) Either we must accept nothing, absolutely nothing, of the Christian religion on historical grounds, or we must also accept this, that at all times there has existed an authentic rule of Faith, (20) which derived its credibility from itself, (21) which alone was the incontestable test of orthodoxy, (22) to which all heretics had first to assent, before the Church deigned to argue with them concerning doctrines of Faith from Scripture; (23) in a word, a rule of Faith, together with which the Scriptures were everything, without which they were nothing.

And we have recently had Mr. Gore, in his essay in "Lux Mundi," telling us :† "It is, we may perhaps say, becoming more and more difficult to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church?"‡

We cannot then well think of Revelation without Inspiration, or some kind of assistance to speak—without the Church; but we can perfectly think of it as continuing to the end without Inspiration to write—without the Bible.

* Lessing's "Werke," ed. 1825, vol. vii. p. 4.

† Twelfth edition, p. 248.

‡ See also the third of the eighth Theses of the quite recent "Declaration on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture," of the eighteen High Church clergymen, published by Parker.

III.

1. Now Scripture which need not have been, has been : *copiosa apud eum redemptio* : we have got both the necessary Church and the contingent Bible, beautiful and great. What are the relations between the two ? These relations are twofold, and it is of primary importance to keep these two sets of relations carefully distinct. The Church rests in part upon the Bible, as containing certain documents of at least human authority with regard to certain limited, specific questions of fact ; the Bible, as a library of Divine, Inspired, Inerrant books, rests, in strict logic, entirely upon the Church.

I will, in this first article, deal exclusively with the first set of relations, and especially with the central facts of our Lord's life as recorded in the Gospels, and hence with the historic credibility and correctness of these Gospel records on at least these particular points.* But here we must carefully note four things :

(1) There is no question as yet of Inspiration or Inerrancy ; no question of detailed harmonisation. As the Encyclical says :†

Since the divine and infallible *magisterium* of the Church rests also on the authority of holy Scripture, the first thing to be done is to vindicate the trustworthiness of the Scripture records at least as human documents, from which can clearly be proved, as from primitive and authentic testimony, the Divinity and the Mission of Christ our Lord, the institution of a hierarchical Church and the primacy of Peter and his successors.

Or, as Fr. Hurter says : ‡

Here we are not treating of the Inspiration of the Gospels, which can be learnt only from Revelation, the existence of which we have not yet proved, but of their *genuineness*, that is, that they are really written by those whose names they bear, and not merely falsely ascribed to them. We are treating—a point of even greater moment—§ of their *authenticity*,

* The double relation between the Old and New Testaments, forwards in the types and prophecies of the Old Testament, and backwards in our Lord's and the evangelist's references to the Old Testament have also, in part, their logical place in this first stage. I will consider them, together with the Old Testament generally, in my second article.

† *Tablet*, Jan. 6, 1894, p. 9.

‡ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34.

§ For, even if the Gospels were the work of other authors, they might still be worthy of credence, and this would clearly suffice for our present purpose.

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that is, that they are trustworthy concerning the deeds and words of Christ, and that they possess an historic authority sufficient to merit at least the kind of credence which we give to truthful witnesses. Hence it would not contradict this assertion, even if it were demonstrated that the Gospels differ among themselves in minor matters. For we believe historic writers, even if they differ among themselves with regard to minor facts or the minor accessories of facts.

Or, as Bishop Clifford writes :*

The Catholic Church is in existence, and she claims to have been founded by Christ more than eighteen centuries ago, and to have existed without interruption down to the present day. Asked for the grounds on which she rests her claim, she, like any other body claiming ancient descent, appeals to the testimony of history. Amongst other sources of evidence, she appeals to the writings of the New Testament, but she does so not as to inspired books, but as to genuine works of contemporary writers. She appeals to them as she appeals to Tacitus, or Seneca, or other trustworthy authorities, and she asserts their trustworthiness not on the ground of inspiration, but of critical proof. And from the testimony of these and other writers she proves the historical reality of the person of Christ, His founding of a Society, and the identity of the Catholic Church of our day with that society. And this she does on historical grounds and by historical evidence, precisely as English historians show that the English nation of the present day is descended from the English nation of the days of Alfred and of William the Conqueror.

(2) The Church, indeed, rests in part upon the historical authority of the New Testament with regard to at least the substance of the fundamental facts of our Lord's life—but only in part, only *also*, as the Encyclical says. For as the Vatican Council, as quoted by the Encyclical,† nobly says :

The Church, by reason of her wonderful propagation, her distinguished sanctity and inexhaustible fecundity in good, her Catholic unity, and her unshaken stability, is herself a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an unassailable testimony to her Divine mission.

Or, as Bishop Clifford says :‡

The very fact of the existence of the English nation at the present day, with all its peculiarities, is a strong link in the chain of evidence available to prove the English descent. And, in like manner, the existence of the Catholic Church at the present day, with its peculiarities,

* *Fortnightly Review*, January 1887, p. 145.

† *Conc. Vat.*, sess. iii. c. 3.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 145, 146.

strongly corroborative of the Church's claim to have descended from the original society instituted by Christ. But all this is strictly within the laws of historical evidence.

(3) All these single threads of evidence are, normally, intended to appeal to one already a full Theist, and not to make him into one; that is, they appeal to one who already fully believes in a Personal God, in the intrinsic difference between right and wrong, in Free will and the possibility of miracle, and in the spirituality of the soul; to one, in a word, who already believes that to be possible and desirable which this evidence is to prove to be actual. All our scholastic theologies, all our Apologetic handbooks are based on this method.

(4) These single threads of evidence could be resisted, even in good faith and by such a full Theist, if they were taken one by one; and, even collectively, they but furnish sufficient proof to justify, never to compel, the act of Faith, ever free and meritorious. This cumulative character of all historical evidence is well insisted on by Abbé Duchesne,* as applying also to the proofs for the supernatural character of the Church:

The supernatural character of the Church, the presence within her of the divine Moderator, could not be deduced with sufficient rigour from each one of her triumphs taken singly. All these a human institution, guided by enlightened and wise men, could have accomplished, taken one by one. But the combined whole, her victory in all her simultaneous conflicts, her individual and proper form preserved throughout a development of an immense range and a very long duration—this represents a moral impossibility, if we would remain within the domain of the natural order.

And this free character of Faith is well described by Bishop Clifford: †

An act of Faith is not a scientific demonstration, it is an act of the free will of man; it is service paid to God, but it is a *reasonable* service. The Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And he that heareth let him say, Come. And he that thirsteth, let him come. And he *that will*, let him take the waters of life freely" (Apoc. xxii. 17).

2. Now all this makes it abundantly clear that, unless we

* "Origines Chrétiennes," pp. 463, 464. Paris: Chauvin.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

would imprison the approaches of Faith within a vicious circle of reasoning, we can, indeed must, at this stage use ordinary critical and historical standards and methods. These most carefully and these at their very best, but these alone. We will, it is true, even here assume certain philosophical and theological convictions, but they will be such as do not exceed pure Theism. Or again, if we choose to argue from the facts of our Lord's life and teaching back to Theism as well as forwards to historic Christianity, we have still to establish these facts by literary and historic criticism, pure and simple. As the fourth of the Theses subscribed by the Abbé Bautain in 1840 * puts it: "We have no right to demand of an unbeliever to admit the Resurrection of our Saviour, before certain proofs have been given him; and these proofs are deduced by reasoning from the tradition, both written and oral, of all Christians." We have, then, to guard here both against following the mere fads and fashions of the day or anti-Theistic assumptions of any kind, and against in any way treating questions which, at this stage, are purely historical in a temper different from that in which other historical problems are investigated and established.

3. Three points and rules should here be always with us :

(1) If [says Cardinal Wiseman] † we wish to understand an author—*e.g.*, the New Testament, we must transplant ourselves from our age and country, and place ourselves in the position of those whom our Saviour or His disciples addressed. We must invest ourselves with their knowledge, their feelings, habits, opinions, if we wish to understand the discourses which were addressed primarily and immediately to them. For the true meaning of a word or phrase is that which was attached to it at the time when the person, whom we interpret, wrote or spoke.

We are, then, striving to see, feel, imagine and think as did the Jews of Palestine more than 1800 years ago.

(2) And next we must ever bear in mind, with Père de Smedt, the Bollandist, ‡

the great difference that exists between the method to be followed in the sciences whose principal object is the knowledge of facts, and that which is suited to the purely mental sciences. The latter proceed almost

* Denzinger, "Enchiridion," ed. 1882, No. 1491.

† "The Real Presence," 1861, pp. 21, 31.

‡ "Principes de la Critique Historique," 1883, pp. 66, 67.

entirely by way of syllogism; whereas the sciences of facts succeed but very rarely in establishing their theses in such forms of reasoning as can be translated more or less immediately into a syllogism, and impose an irresistible conviction on whosoever is acquainted with the laws of dialectic and knows how to apply them. In general, to gain acceptance for their proofs, the historic sciences have to appeal to a certain faculty of moral appreciation of things—a faculty rather of intuition than of deduction—to that peculiar tact of the intelligence which, in actual life, is called practical good sense, and which supposes in those who possess it more exactness of observation and honesty of judgment than subtlety and depth.

Historical evidence deals with degrees of probability, but may reach, at a certain point in the accumulation of probabilities, a kind of moral certainty which, short of the intervention of the absolute certainties of Faith, reasonably demands assent.

(3) The models of method on which to fall back, when in doubt as to the proper temper to be applied, are those of the best Church historical work, such as Petau's or Mabillon's in the past, or Père de Smedt's "*Dissertationes Selectæ*," or Abbé Duchesne's edition of the "*Liber Pontificalis*" in the present. If still in doubt, we get still further away, to the best work of classical scholars, or again to such general principles as those contained in Droysen's "*Grundriss der Historik*" (also to be had in French), and such examples as Freeman's "*History of the Norman Conquest*," or the works of our own John Lingard.

4. As to examples and materials for sound historical method within the domain and at the stage here in question, the Gospels *quæ* historical documents, I have specially in my mind the following well-known books. For the Greek text: Drs. Westcott and Hort's Text and Introduction; Dr. C. R. Gregory's "*Prolegomena*" to Tischendorf's eighth edition of the New Testament; the beautiful facsimile of the all-important Vatican MS. by Mgr. Cozza-Luzi (Rome, 1889); Rushbrook's "*Synoptikon*" (Macmillan), or the quite cheap and almost equally useful "*Synopse*" by Huck (Freiburg, 1892). For Catholic introductions: Dr. Kaulen's "*Einleitung*" (Freiburg, 1876) (for textual matters); and commentaries of the past: above all Maldonatus (ed. Raich, Mainz, 1874); of the present: the thorough four volumes on the four Gospels by Dr.

Schanz (Freiburg 1879, 81; Tübingen, 1883, 85), and Abbé Loisy's remarkable "*Evangelies Synoptiques*" (Paris, 1893). Finally, for a full understanding of the point of view of the ablest representatives of the Centre and Left among contemporary Protestant critics, Dr. B. Weiss's edition of Meyer's standard "*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*," vols. i. and ii. (Göttingen, 1883, 5, 6); and Dr. H. Holtzmann's *Synoptists* and St. John, vols. i. and iv. of the "*Hand Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*" (Freiburg, 1889, 91), are indispensable.

IV.

1. Now the position of affairs is, at this stage, remarkably improved for the Apologist, as compared with fifty years ago.

(1) For, as to previous convictions, if, outside the Church, belief in the actual occurrence of physical miracle has largely waned; yet belief in personality in God and man, in free will and spiritual miracles, and, again, even in the possibility of material miracles, and specially as to the difficulty of maintaining internal and yet denying external miracle—all this has waxed.* Hermann Lotze, T. H. Green in his latest stage, James Martineau, Andrew and James Seth, are but some of the names of very distinguished and influential believers in such simple but consistent philosophical Theism, the last three being full converts to Free Will.

(2) As to literary criticism, the same improvement is even more marked. Recent discoveries, specially that of the "*Diatessaron*" of Tatian (1876, 88), and researches, specially Dr. Lightfoot's final demonstration of the genuineness of the seven Ignatian Epistles (1885), Abbé Duchesne's reconstruction of the "*Liber Pontificalis*" (vol. i., 1886), and Professor Ramsay's archaeological work in Asia Minor (published in collected form, 1890-3), have all helped, in various ways and degrees, to reconfirm early dates for the composition of the Gospels as probable, indeed in part as necessary. After years

* As to the difficulty here referred to, cf. the admirable discussion (pp. 115-146) in Dr. Bruce's "*Apologetics*." Edinburgh: Clark. 1892.

of the most patient and fruitful research and discovery in Asia Minor, Professor Ramsay tells us : *

For years, with much interest and zeal but little knowledge, I followed the critics and accepted their results. In recent years, as I came to understand Roman history better, I have realised that, in the case of nearly all the books of the New Testament, it is as great an outrage upon criticism to hold them for second century forgeries, as it would be to class the works of Horace and Virgil as forgeries of the time of Nero.

But this refers chiefly to the Catholic and Pastoral Epistles, and, with regard to the Gospels, even the Rationalist critics have grown more moderate. Dr. Holtzmann † looks upon the years 69-96 for SS. Mark and Matthew, and 96-117 for St. Luke as the reasonable and now normal dates ; and, as to St. John, he tells us : ‡

As regards approximate dating, the original fixtures of the critical school have undergone a considerable rebatement. The critics have retreated from 160-170 (Baur, B. Bauer) . . . to about 140 (Hilgenfeld), 110-115 (Renan), 100 (Aubé).

Now this latter date is but a few years from the correct traditional one. And, as to the Synoptists, such dates as : composition of St. Matthew's Hebrew (Aramaic) original, in Palestine about 42 A.D. ; St. Mark's Gospel, written in Rome in 67 ; our present Greek translation, re-arrangement and expansion of St. Matthew, if not earlier than 67, yet certainly before 80 ; and St. Luke, written in Rome about 80, would, even purely critically, have no serious difficulties left to contend against. And the Pauline authorship of the seven Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, at one time attacked in each case, is in each case now admitted and defended by such competent Rationalists as Drs. Schmiedel and R. A. Lipsius §

(3) As to historical criticism, we get a similar improvement. For, as to the historicity of our Lord's life, we get from the ablest living representative of the Rationalist Left (Dr. Holtzmann), the declaration : ||

* "The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170."

† "Hand-Kommentar," i. p. 23.

‡ "Einleitung in das Neue Testament," 1886, p. 476.

§ See the Introductions throughout vol. ii. of the "Hand-Kommentar."

|| *Ibid.* i. p. 14

Those who consider that, in the composition of our Gospels, an historical interest was not, or was hardly, a part cause, certainly go too far. On the contrary, we ought, at least with regard to the Synoptic Gospels, to maintain definitely that they contain as their kernel nothing else than the genuine, and in its chief features clearly recognisable picture of Jesus of Nazareth.

As to the position of the Blessed Virgin, we get the same Dr. Holtzmann declaring, on Luke i. 27 :*

With Luke begins the devotional glorification of Mary as Virgin—other of the Son of God—Mariology. At the starting-point of this process, which found its confirmation in Catholic dogma, stands the *Ave Maria gratia plena*, the so-called Angelic Salutation.

As to the primacy of St. Peter, we get Dr. Meyer and his editor, Dr. B. Weiss, telling us on Matt. xvi. 18, 19 :†

Thou art Peter, πέτρος, appellative : thou art a rock. The form πέτρος is used also by classical authors, and that not only in the sense of stone (as always, in contradistinction to πέτρα, in Homer), but also of rock. But the Gospels knew, for the appellative, only the form πέτρα, and the consequent slight difference of form was absent only in the Aramaic original, in which the word was both times read Kepha. *And upon this rock*. The emphasis lies on *this*, pointing to Peter : on no other than upon this rock, *i.e.*, upon this rock nature which, as the rock in the parable (vii. 245), could ensure the existence of the house, the continuance and cohesion of the new community. *I will build my church*. The primacy among the Apostles is here undoubtedly awarded to Peter. With this accords also his appearing first in the lists of the Apostles and the actual superiority in which we find him throughout the New Testament in the circle of the Apostles.

And, on John xxi. 15,‡ Dr. Weiss says :

Feed my lambs. Not only is Peter's primacy included in some way or other (so also Meyer, Godet, &c.), but the supreme direction of the community, which he had forfeited by his heavy fall, is re-conferred upon him.

Holtzmann§ is quite as strong on the same side.

* "Hand-Kommentar," i. p. 31.

† "Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar," i. pp. 333, 334.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 707.

§ "Hand-Kommentar," i. pp. 193, 194, and iv. pp. 203, 204.

V.

And Catholic scholars are, on their part, coming to recognise more clearly, indeed in part to but re-discover, two important points :

1. As to the relation of the Synoptic Gospels towards each other. Here also, it is true, the critics have come and are coming if to greater unity yet also to greater moderation. The Documents- or utilisation-hypothesis, in the form of two of the Synoptists having each utilised at least one of the other two ; and the Mark-hypothesis, in the form that even our present St. Matthew is in part younger than St. Mark, and is in part based upon him, have, among the critics, no doubt become the two points of union amidst endless differences of further detail. But even so radical and representative a Rationalist as Dr. Holtzmann admits* :

In the first instance, all the Gospels rest upon oral tradition, and the reminiscences of an anecdotal character which get interwoven with the common historic thread at one time by this, at another time by that Synoptist, still point directly to such a source.

Indeed, this much in favour of the oral-tradition hypothesis had been granted by the critics De Wette and Credner as far back as the twenties and 1836. And, as to St. Mark, Dr. Holtzmann has himself modified his views of 1863, and now practically abandons the hypothesis of a Proto-Mark, *i.e.*, that our second Gospel is not the original work of St. Peter's Disciple. He tells us:† “Most at least of the motives for distinguishing a Proto-Mark from Mark have been removed.”

And yet Catholic scholars on their part are rightly coming to give up the Protestant critic Gieseler's oral-tradition hypothesis (publ. 1818) as the exclusive explanation of the Synoptist similarities and differences, and to go back to the documents- or utilisation-hypothesis, which may well be considered the traditional view. It was certainly held, among others by Epiphanius, Origen, Augustine, Bede ; a Lapide, Maldonatus ; and, in our times, by Hug, Reischl, Patrizzi, Franzelin.‡ Take

* “Einleitung,” ed. 1886, p. 358.

† *Ibid.*, p. 357.

‡ Cf. Schanz, “Comm. über den h. Markus,” pp. 26-29.

so conservative a scholar as Dr. Kaulen. In his "Einleitung" he no doubt tells us* that "the relations of the Gospels towards one another is to be explained exclusively by the fact that they are all emanations of the oral Gospel." Yet he also tells us†:

This does not, however, preclude the utilisation of an earlier Gospel by a later evangelist, however independent the latter may have been. Apart from St. John, whose knowledge and presupposition of the earlier Gospels is a matter of attestation, we may assume of the more recent Synoptists that they were influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the knowledge of an already existing Gospel.

Take so competent a New Testament exegete as Dr. Schanz. In his "Apology,"‡ discussing the parts common to all three Synoptists, he excellently says:

We are not concerned with the greater bulk of matter supplied by St. Luke: for this he might have gathered either from the written sources at his command, or from eye-witnesses of the events, from tradition. But we have in mind the discrepancies in the materials common to all. Why should the evangelists have made such small and, at times, such trifling changes? . . . Some feel a difficulty in supposing that one evangelist corrected and amended another. Well and good; but how are we to get rid of the discrepancies and changes? Is historical fidelity perchance better assured by removing the burthen from the back of the evangelists, and laying it on the shoulders of tradition? . . . To find disagreement in local and numerical details is indeed surprising; but the difficulty is equally great for the tradition-hypothesis. . . . The dependence-hypothesis has failed to solve the synoptic problem, for no other reason, but because it sought to explain the Gospels solely by their literary dependency one on another. The tradition-hypothesis overshoots the mark when it, in turn, discards all written sources.

Take J. Grimm, in his "Leben Jesu," 1878; or Fr. Coleridge, in his "Life of our Life;" or Abbé Loisy, in his "Evangiles Synoptiques":—their positions are, on this point, substantially identical with those of the two Catholic scholars just quoted.

And we are coming to admit, in some form or other, the priority of St. Mark even as against a part of our St. Matthew; to admit, that is, that our extant Greek first Gospel, though containing a re-arrangement and translation of the original Hebrew (Aramaic) work of the Apostle Matthew-Levi, is not

* P. 381.

† Pp. 382, 383.

‡ Glancey and Schobel, Dublin, 1891, vol. ii. p. 465.

merely a translation but an expansion, consisting substantially of a fusion of proto-Matthew with our St. Mark. So, quite explicitly, the very learned Dr. Sepp.* So, more tentatively and vaguely, Dr. Reischl.† So, as to the main point, even the very conservative Dr. Kaulen:‡

The greater or less elaboration of a Gospel corresponds to an earlier or later form of the apostolic preaching. The time of its consignment to writing need not be taken into consideration; a later document may very well represent an earlier form of oral announcement. This being held fast, we may say that the Gospel according to Mark, because of its great simplicity and vividness of details, allows us to recognise in it the oldest oral Gospel; its contents lie exactly within the limits which St. Peter (Acts x. 37) assigned to the apostolic preaching.

So, intermittently, Dr. Schanz:§

The difficulties would find their simplest solution by declaring against all utilisation on the part of Mark, and by accepting either the oral tradition- or the Mark-hypothesis. . . . Indeed, both theories agree in this, that they both make the origin of the second Gospel independent of the other Synoptists, and refer it to tradition or the preaching of St. Peter. . . . The philological and logical analysis of the Gospel has often to recognise a primitive character in the second Gospel.

So also, with remarkable apologetic results (see his treatment of the "Raising of Jairus's Daughter," pp. 343, 344), Abbé Loisy in his "Evangiles Synoptiques."

And such a proto-Matthew and priority of St. Mark would not at bottom do more than limit and explain the unanimous declaration of the fathers || as to an original Hebrew St. Matthew, and the traditional order of the Gospels. For no critic of weight, either within or without the Church, thinks of contesting the apostolic authorship of the Aramaic Matthew, or its seniority over St. Mark, or its constituting an important part of our Greek St. Matthew. So that if the question be: "which of the two Gospels contains the oldest writing?" and, again, "which contains apostolic writing?"—on both these

* "Das Hebräer-Evangelium," 1870.

† H. Schriften, ed. 1870, p. 17.

‡ "Freiburger Kirchenlexikon," ed. 1886, col. 1046.

§ "Comm. über Markus," pp. 29-32.

|| The Apostolic Father Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Jerome.

points of time and of rank St. Matthew gets still put before St. Mark.*

2. As to the historical character of the Gospels. Here, as we have seen, even the fully Rationalist critics have come to admit a large element of downright history in the Gospels. But Catholic scholars, on their part, are getting again, like Clement of Alexandria and St. Jerome, to see more clearly and consistently how that the object of the Evangelists, Orientals writing primarily for Orientals, was not always, chiefly in such matters as numbers and time and place and sequence and inter-connection, historical as we now understand history. And they are getting to see and show how this fact militates neither against their truthfulness nor their historical reliability. The cases where they are but following an order of symbolic or subject-matter grouping, or are giving both the words and the spirit and inner thoughts of our Lord's discourses, are being more and more recognised as intentional and more and more distinguished from the actual chronological sequence, and the very words spoken on particular occasions.

As to sequence, we find in the first Gospel instances of an artificial system of grouping according to sacred numbers: so the twice seven generations three times over (i. 1-17); the seven parables (xiii. 1-52, as compared with the three in Mark iv. 1-34); the ten miracles (viii. 2-9, 34). As to subject-matter grouping, the first of its five main divisions (iv. 17-ix. 35) gives us a general picture of the character of that teaching and healing which the heading iv. 23 announces, most of these teachings and healings reappearing in St. Luke, according to the promise of his prologue in their primitive historical setting. So also, our Lord's declaration (x. 15) has been preceded by carefully chosen examples of each of the deeds referred to: "The blind see (ix. 27), the lame walk (viii. 5, ix. 1), the lepers are cleansed (viii. 1), the deaf hear (ix. 32), the dead rise again (ix. 18, 23), the poor have the Gospel preached to them (x. 7)." Such non-historical, though perfectly legitimate subject-matter grouping, performed on

* The Encyclical would seem intentionally to leave room for some such view, where (*Tablet*, January 6, 1894, p. 7) it says, "Now we have to meet the Rationalists," and tells us that they declare among other things, that "the Apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all." Note the last two words.

pre-existent documents, is no doubt the true explanation of that "incurable confusion," and of "that great absence of clearness, vividness, historical and chronological precision," which Dr. Schanz tells us* "Catholics† and Protestants appear to agree in finding throughout the first Gospel." Certainly, as to the genealogical instance, it is explained as above by St. Jerome, and, in our time, by the very strict Abbé Vigouroux;‡ and all the others are so accepted by Abbé Loisy and Dr. Schanz.

And, as to St. Luke, he again groups his material—apparently from Proto-Matthew for the discourses, from Mark for the narratives, and from a third very primitive tradition, document or set of documents, for his additions to both§—almost entirely according to the predominantly chronological sequence of St. Mark. The earlier position assigned to the scene in the synagogue at Nazareth (iv. 16–30), and the omission of the northern journey (given by St. Mark vi. 45–viii. 26) between verses 17 and 18 of chap. ix., and the addition, as a substitute, of the entirely new matter of a southern journey at ix. 51–xviii. 14 constitute, in the matter of sequence, the only large difference. Yet the selection of the new, and the exposition of both new and old incidents, is more doctrinally limited and elaborated than in the case of either of the preceding Gospels. The true disciple of St. Paul, St. Luke's

fundamental drift [says Dr. Schanz],|| is the doctrine of grace, mercy, and forgiveness. The narratives of the Sinning Woman (vii. 36–50), of the Pharisee and the Publican (xviii. 10–14), of Zacchæus (xix. 1–10), and of the Penitent Thief (xxiii. 39–43), show the infinite compassion of our Redeemer in the most glorious light, and this again is heightened by the three last words on the Cross which all promise full pardon, and which are recorded by him alone (xxiii. 34, 43, 46). If, again, we compare with

* "Comm. über Matt.," p. 32.

† *E.g.*, Calmet, Haneberg, Schegg, Arnoldi, Grimm, Sepp.

‡ "Livres Saints et la Critique," iii. p. 477.

§ St. Luke's opening words are: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us; according as they have delivered them unto us who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Now these "many" a stream of Catholic Commentators have, ever since and with Maltonatus, most rightly taken to include the Aramaic St. Matthew and St. Mark. Hence some such combination of documents as is given above would not rest upon the kind of "internal evidence alone" which I take the Encyclical to mean, when it declares it to be "seldom of great value, except as confirmation."—*Tablet*, Jan. 6, 1894, pp. 9, 10.

|| "Commentar über d. h. Lukas," p. 31.

all this the parables in his xvth chapter and find that St. Luke in the first (the Lost Sheep) goes far beyond Matthew xviii. 12-14, and mark the deeply moving picture of the mercy of God towards the penitent in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, we shall find even this much sufficient to instruct us as to the fundamental drift of the Gospel of the heart. Compare also, besides the story of the Infancy, the Raising of the Widow's Son (vii. 11), the Ministering Women (viii. 1-3), Mary and Martha (x. 38), the woman declaring His Mother Blessed (xi. 27), and the Agony in the Garden (xxii. 43).

In one word, it is the Gospel which carries back the genealogy to Adam (iii. 38), as against St. Matthew who begins but with Abraham (i. 2), and which gives our Lord's words as "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful" (vi. 37), as compared with St. Matthew's "Be ye therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect" (v. 48).

As to speeches, the discourses in the Fourth Gospel are being more clearly seen to give, and to aim at giving, not only the very words and substance, but also the spirit and inner working of our Lord's mind and heart.*

Cardinal Newman writes:†

Every one writes in his own style. St. John gives our Lord's meaning in his own way. At that time the third person was not so commonly used in history as now. When a reporter gives one of Gladstone's speeches in the newspaper, if he uses the first person, I understand not only the matter, but the style, the words, to be Gladstone's: when the third, I consider the style, &c., to be the reporter's own. But in ancient times this distinction was not made. Thucydides uses the dramatic method, yet Spartan and Athenian speak in Thucydidian Greek. And so every clause of our Lord's speeches in St. John may be in St. John's Greek, yet every clause may contain the matter which our Lord spoke in Aramaic.

The very correct Dr. Hettinger says:‡

The declarations concerning Jesus, the Son of Man, given by the Synoptists are in harmony, as to the matter, with those concerning Jesus, the Son of God, to be found in St. John. A strictly literal

* The two things were nearer to each other for a Jew than they are for us: the Hebrew verbs *amar*, *haga*, *siach* are used indifferently for saying and thinking, just as Homer, in at least six places, uses *φημι*, to announce, for thinking.

† "The Gospel according to St. John." By Rev. A. Plummer. Cambridge. 1894, p. 93.

‡ "Apologetik," 1879, v. i. p. 288.

rendering of the discourses of Jesus is being here as little maintained with regard to St. John as in the case of the longer speeches of Jesus as given by the Synoptists.

All this would certainly be in keeping with the general character of this Gospel, of which Dr. Kaulen says : *

Its peculiarities are explained by this, that its completeness depends upon its combination with the Synoptists ; these latter receiving a complement by the Fourth Gospel, which represents actions of Jesus, long known through them, according to those actions, motives, objects and scope. Thus the Fourth Gospel actually appears as what Clement of Alexandria (d. about 217) called it—a *pneumatic*, spiritual Gospel beside the three *somatic*, corporeal ones.

Hence Dr. Schanz is right in saying : †

In the Fourth Gospel we are often in doubt whether a concept is to be taken sensibly or spiritually, where imagery ceases and literalness begins, whether history or symbolism is predominant ; but all this is connected with the spirit of the Semitic languages and the individuality of John. . . . The character of this Gospel is neither strictly historical nor strictly dogmatic. But the latter element predominates, and hence the Gospel of St. John has played a primary part in the development of doctrine.

VI.

In our contention with our non-Christian Theist we would then turn, in the parts common to all three or to two Synoptists, for the Chronology, to SS. Mark and Luke ; for the very words of the Discourses, chiefly to St. Matthew ; for the local colour of the Actions, chiefly to St. Mark ; for the deepest insight into the Thoughts and Doctrines, to SS. Luke and John. And we would, generally, take St. Mark first among the Synoptists, and the Synoptists as a whole before St. John.

I will conclude this first stage of our inquiry into the relations of the Bible and the Church with an illustration and reflection with respect to the spirit in which, to be fruitful, indeed to count even for a day, the *labor improbus* of the study of the Bible *quod* human document should, I take it, be conducted by the few who have the gifts and calling to give themselves to

* Fr. "Kirchenlexikon," vol. vi. 1889, col. 1541.

† "Commentar über d. h. Johannes," pp. 51, 52.

this form of service. When the serene scholar-saint, the Benedictine Jean Mabillon was dying, and dying in agonies of pain, after half a century and more of daily service of scholarship and sanctity, his faithful companion, Father Ruinart tells us* how he caused a young priest-relation of his own to be called to his bedside, and there exhorted him to these three virtues above all others: a deep and constant humility, a great simplicity and poverty of life, and, to crown all, a sensitive, deep love of truth. The priest thus exhorted himself writes:

Finally he exhorted me to love truth much—*Deus veritatis*. Be true in all things. Be sensitively scrupulous in the matter of sincerity. You will merit to be faithful on important occasions, if you have been so on those which appear less so—*sinceri filii Dei*. The love of truth is a great grace; we shall gain it, if we implore and pray God for it. I pray our Lord to grant it to you, and all other graces of which you may stand in need.

Now this difficult gain, this rare grace, this touching prayer and pleading of the open eye—is it not in itself a great, the greatest *apologia*, is it not simply irreplaceable by every and all other gifts? In the early Church the iron will and the proud contempt of Imperial and imperious Rome were shaken, were softened, were won to a completeness of allegiance exceeding even the completeness of the previous scorn. And this by what? Was it not by seeing the Christian's love for his brother whom he had seen, that he, the heathen, was brought to join him, the Christian, in adoring and in loving the God whom he had not seen? And so now. We can hope to bring souls beyond the little they have gained on to the immeasurable they have lost, into the regions beyond the senses and demonstration and within the range of motives and realities which alone can fully touch and feed the springs of action and of life, if one preliminary condition be ever overflowingly fulfilled. Let the modern man be sure of one thing, let him feel it at any and every contact with your mind: that you would feel as a wound any stain on your intellectual honour, any violence done to any fact however small and spurned, that you are striving day by day after intellectual

* "Abrégé de la Vie de Dom Mabillon," 1709, pp. 388-93.

chastity, that your very faith springs from love, a love of truth. He may thus come to suspect that you, who strive so hard and humbly to register and to interpret faithfully and fully that which your brother hath seen, may well deserve some credence when you invite him to move with you on and beyond into what he hath not seen but, with grace and goodness, can and should believe.

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL.

ART. V.—THE CURES AT LOURDES.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of an age which prides itself on eliminating the supernatural from the world, and on relying upon science alone, is the steady increase in the recoveries that take place at Lourdes, and in the attention they attract. During the last thirty-six years the number of sick who visit that shrine has come by degrees to be counted by thousands annually, while more than 150 medical men went there last year to study the results for themselves. It is not the least part of the irony of events that it is the very progress of science which has made pilgrimages on such a large scale possible, and also has provided means for testing the recoveries satisfactorily. Side by side with the increased number of alleged cures a more systematic and detailed examination of them has grown up, so that the subject can now be studied by the physician in the same manner as any other branch of medicine. All that could be said after a careful study of the *Annales de Lourdes* may be seen in an able and thoughtful article by Dr. Mackey in a former number of this REVIEW (October 1880), and the credit is his of having preceded other Catholic medical men in England, where they so long hesitated to follow him. There were good reasons for this delay, if I may judge of others by my own case. Lourdes was known to us almost entirely by the work of M. Lasserre, which, in spite of its brilliant literary qualities, or perhaps because of them, was not calculated to satisfy a physician. The cases reported from time to time in the religious journals, and those which reached us on hearsay evidence were hardly more convincing, and did no more than cause us to suspend our judgment. This state of mind ended, for me at any rate, with the publication of Dr. Boissarie's first book.* I then realised for the first time that there was a large mass of medical testimony bearing on the cures, which was available for further study, and seemed to demand it. Among the cases so recorded some seemed to me explicable by the action of the mind on the body; but

* "Lourdes : Histoire Médicale." Paris: Lecoffre. 1891.

others appeared to be wholly out of the ordinary course of nature, and yet supported by testimony which would be deemed sufficient to establish any improbable, but not impossible, event. I will presently give two or three instances of the class of cases I refer to, and will only now remark that the number might be easily increased by quoting from the work in question. One doubt, however, and that a grave one, still remained in my mind. One of the hardest lessons that we all learn in life is not to trust to the fairest appearances without careful and personal examination. It might be, I thought, that the force of the marvellous which carries almost every one away into inaccuracy and exaggeration, had acted with especial force on masses of men stirred by religious enthusiasm, and that the fervid imagination of the South had perhaps clothed its beliefs in the semblance of a scientific method, which might vanish on a nearer scrutiny. My suspicions were enough to make me desire to see the wonders of Lourdes for myself, and to judge on the spot of the way in which the cures are examined and recorded. It seems to me that the testimony of a medical witness, who is at least independent, will be interesting to those who wish for further information; and this is my reason for appearing perhaps too exclusively occupied with my own experiences and impressions. I make no apology to the general reader for the medical details into which I shall enter, for they are the very essence of the subject.

I.

The following are examples of the cases which on perusal seemed to me to be outside the ordinary course of nature, and yet supported by abundant testimony:—

CASE 1.—Peter de Rudder, an outdoor servant at Jabbeke, a village between Bruges and Ostend, had both bones of his left leg broken by the fall of a tree. The fracture was a compound comminuted one, 3 inches below the knee; it did not unite, though treated by six medical men successively. The wound at the seat of the fracture, and a deep ulcer on the dorsum of the foot, remained open; the patient kept his bed for a year, and then dragged himself about on crutches. This state of things lasted for rather more than eight years, when he went on a pilgrimage to the Lourdes shrine at Oosstaker, where, on April 7, 1875, he recovered completely and instantaneously while in prayer before the statue. Such

was his own account at the time, confirmed by a statement signed by the burgomaster of the commune, and eleven of the principal inhabitants, within a week of the occurrence. The whole evidence in this case was gone over carefully last year by Dr. Royer, of Lens S. Rémy, accompanied by a sceptic. He found that de Rudder's ordinary medical attendants were both dead, but one Dr. Van Hoestenbergh, who lives in the neighbourhood, had been told by his deceased colleagues that they looked upon the case as hopeless, and he had himself examined the injury. He saw a deep ulceration in the upper third of the leg, at the bottom of which could be seen the fractured ends of the bones, separated by an interval of about an inch. The limb was movable in every direction, the only limit being the resistance of the soft tissues. The last time the doctor saw the limb was two or three months before the recovery, and he deemed it impossible that a fracture of such long standing and gravity could have healed completely during that time. That no change had taken place during the interval seems to be established by the following testimony. Two persons saw the leg, one nine the other seven days before the date of the alleged cure, and three persons saw him dress the wound the evening before, when he bent the leg so as to make the fractured ends of the bones project. A ticket-porter, who assisted in helping him into the train on his way to Oostaker, deposed to having seen the leg hanging loose and evidently broken, and to his returning in the evening without crutches and unassisted. De Rudder himself confirmed the account he had formerly given of the suddenness and completeness of his cure, adding some curious details, such as that at first his feet were too tender for him to wear shoes. Dr. Royer examined the limb carefully, and found two cicatrices in the places where the sores had been, and a depression of the crest of the tibia at the seat of the fracture, but no shortening, no thickening, and not the least lameness. I have dwelt on this case at some length, though much of the evidence has been omitted, not only because it is a very remarkable one, but also in the hope that some English surgeon may be induced to investigate it independently. De Rudder lives between Bruges and Ostend, so near our shores that it would be almost as easy and as cheap to subject this alleged miracle to cross-examination as to ridicule or reject it without inquiry. If it is disproved it will be an interesting psychological question how De Rudder succeeded in persuading himself and his neighbours, who were by no means all devout Catholics, that he had been so marvellously cured. Dr. Hoestenbergh, of Stalhille, whom I have mentioned above, offers to accompany De Rudder to either Bruges or Ostend if it is inconvenient for any medical man to go to Jabbeke.

CASE 2.—Marie Lemarchand came to Lourdes with a certificate from Dr. La Néée, of Caen, stating that she was suffering from phthisis, and also from lupus of the right cheek, lips, and part of the mucous membrane of the mouth. Dr. D'Hombres stated that he saw her waiting for her turn to go into the bath, and that he was struck with the particularly repulsive appearance of her face, which was suppurating profusely. He was shortly after called by one of the *baigneuses* to see the patient, when

found a fresh, red cicatrix covered by a freshly-formed epidermis where the ulceration had been before. Dr. La Néele writes to Dr. Boissarie that on her return home the skin gradually assumed a healthy aspect, and that the pulmonary evidences of disease had disappeared, leaving the patient perfectly well.

CASE 3.—Amélie Chagnon suffered from caries of the second left metatarsal bone with a sinus which freely suppurated. This had gradually become worse during four years, until removal of the bone appeared to be the only course to take; for the last year there had also been strumous disease of the left knee-joint. Both these conditions were certified to by her medical attendants, Dr. Dupont of Poitiers and Dr. Maillard of Parthenay. She went to Lourdes with the national pilgrimage in 1889; but returned without any improvement. Dr. Dupont states that he saw her the day before her second visit in August 1891, and found her no better than usual. She was bathed at Lourdes, at first with no result; at her urgent entreaty she was put back into the bath, when she felt violent pains in the foot, and was aware that she was healed. Six ladies were in the bathroom at the time; one of them—a M^{de}. de

Salinière—states that she distinctly saw the sore on the foot before the second immersion, and that after the bath its place was taken by a recent but perfect scar. At the “bureau des constatations” immediately afterwards, nothing could be detected wrong with the limb except this newly-formed cicatrix; and a few days later her own medical attendants certified to her complete recovery.

CASE 4.—In 1887 Dr. Boissarie saw a woman waiting to bathe her child, a boy of twelve, who had been blind for two years; he had well-marked interstitial keratitis, and a specific history. After bathing, the boy suddenly and completely recovered his sight, and on examination, Dr. Boissarie found only a few spots and a little cloudiness of the cornea remaining.

II.

To come to my own experience. I spent May of the present year (1894) at Lourdes, and believe that I could not have visited it at a time more favourable for observing all its different aspects. During the first part of the month there were few pilgrimages; while on Whit-Monday there was a pilgrimage of 5000 Basque men, but with no invalids. In the next ten days of the month there were two large pilgrimages, with many sick, from Belgium and Lyons; and I then had occasion to see the “bureau des constatations médicales” at work, and the way in which the cases are observed and recorded. The number of sick in these two bodies, 60 Belgians and 200 Lyonese, was of course small compared with the

vast gatherings in August and September; but for that very reason it was much easier to observe individuals and the pilgrims as a body. I found on my arrival that Dr. Boissarie was not there, that he spends most of his time at his home, at Sarlat in the Dordogne, and only visits Lourdes when the number of sick expected calls for his presence. During his absence the medical bureau is closed, and no plan is provided for recording the recoveries that may take place, though I suppose the clergy would take down such particulars as might be brought under their notice, which could be afterwards examined at leisure. This may seem strange; but it is in accord with the other characteristics of Lourdes. The complete absence of any attempt at interference with the spontaneous devotion of each visitor to the shrine, was the feature which impressed me most strongly from the first, and is one of the greatest charms of the place. In ordinary times no attempt is made to lead or direct the prayers of those who are at the grotto, who are left undisturbed save by the birds singing above, and the rushing torrent hard by. Even during the pilgrimages, though processions, public prayers, and discourses are provided in abundance, every one is perfectly free to attend these or not, as he may prefer, and in any case there is much spare time at his disposal. Miracles, too, fall there into a secondary place, and do not occupy the importance they necessarily assume when they are being exclusively studied. They are, indeed, most eagerly looked for by the pilgrims and other bystanders, and there are the heartiest rejoicings when they are thought to occur. But the ecclesiastical authorities do not take the notice of them I should have expected, and on the whole rather decline to discuss them, leaving their consideration to the medical men in the bureau, if it is at work.

During the pilgrimages, when this "*bureau des constatations médicales*" is open, it very much resembles an out-patients' department in a hospital. There is a public room, of fair size, but often insufficient for the number of persons it has to contain; and other small rooms are provided for the private examination of such cases as may require it. The bureau is under the authority and control of Dr. Boissarie; and I may say at once that I do not think a man better qualified for the post could have been found. After a successful career as a

student in Paris, he was recalled by his father to practise in his native province; and he appears to me to have profited to the full by the valuable training a country practitioner's life can afford. Before making his acquaintance I had, as I have said, some not unnatural suspicions that he might be too credulous and enthusiastic; but they were soon dissipated on my coming to know him. I found I had to do with a cautious, hard-headed practitioner, with an excellent knowledge of his profession. Above all, I was most favourably impressed by his desire for the fullest publicity, and by his evidently sincere wish that the alleged cures, and the method of investigation, should be independently studied by any medical visitor. For instance, he asked me to take his place at the bureau on the first day it was opened, when he was kept to the house by illness, although he then knew me only as a Catholic medical man, who wished to satisfy himself by personal observation. He welcomed most cordially the ten or twelve of our confrères who came to the bureau during the week it was opened; objections, often vigorously pressed, were always welcomed, and suggestions for the further study of interesting cases were invited. The only thing that appeared to annoy him was the refusal of some to remain long enough to observe for themselves. The records consist of notes taken at the time under the dictation of Dr. Boissarie, or occasionally of some other medical man. Every one is perfectly free to inspect these case-books, and to make independent notes and inquiries. I remarked in particular a physician from Montpellier, who was by no means convinced, and whose criticisms were always to the point, able, and trenchant; he received every assistance and even encouragement to take copious notes for a paper he intended to read before some medical society.

I have dwelt upon my impressions of Lourdes and its personnel, because to my mind they are incompatible with the suspicions I had before my visit. It may be thought that the course taken by the clergy and Dr. Boissarie with me and other confrères is part of a policy designed to throw us off our guard, and so to deceive us more easily. Such an idea is absurd to one who like myself has carefully watched during five weeks what passed. But supposing it to be true, it would be an easier and more agreeable duty to hoist the deceivers

with their own petard, to use their professed desire for publicity and free investigation, so as to show where the fraud lies, or at least where the fallacy comes in. Until this is done, it will only be fair and reasonable to suppose Dr. Boissarie is sincere in constantly repeating his desire for the closest and most independent examination, provided that it is conducted carefully and impartially. "These questions," as he has said lately, "are extremely difficult. In order to understand them it is necessary to free one's mind from all preconceived opinions, and to ground one's judgment on serious and long-continued observation, and not on fugitive impressions, hastily collected, which cannot be tested." *

III.

I have already said that one of the things which impressed me most at Lourdes, was the absence of any attempt to excite or rouse the pilgrims: corresponding to this is another remarkable characteristic. During the whole of my stay there I did not observe any of those manifestations of hysteria which I should almost have expected, nor any hypnotic phenomena, though I looked closely for both. I cannot, of course, answer for what may have been witnessed by others; I can only say that such occurrences must be rare, as I remained at Lourdes longer than most persons do, and visited the shrine under all its aspects and at all times of the day, and always found the worshippers quietly devout, and at any rate externally calm. Much of this tranquillity is no doubt due to the systematic injunction of silence, and to the discouragement of gesticulations and contortions; for I have elsewhere shown that these bodily movements seem to be the principal agents in making religious excitement run on into epidemic hysteria or insanity. The most solemn ceremony of all is when the blessed sacrament is carried in procession between the ranks of the sick, while the words are chanted which, the Gospels record, were addressed by the blind, the halt and the infirm to our Lord when He was on earth. Nothing can be more stimulating to the religious mind; but the appeal is an internal one, and the very Presence commands silence and stillness.

* "*Annales de Lourdes*," Juin 1894.

There is unquestionably excitement enough among the bystanders when a miraculous cure is supposed to have taken place; but as far as my own observation, and the report of persons, who appear to me trustworthy, go, it does not run on into anything morbid. I believe the principal force that keeps the emotions of the pilgrims under control is a moral one. Though much is made of course of the supernatural cures that are said to occur, they occupy at Lourdes a secondary place, to an extent which it is difficult for any one who has not been there to realise. Moral and spiritual blessings are sought far more earnestly and more generally than the healing of bodily infirmities. Numerous instances are related of persons who have gone to Lourdes to obtain their cure, but who when there have ceased to ask for it, and either offered their prayers for the relief of others whom they thought in greater need, or sought for resignation to bear their own sufferings. In the same way, one hears there of persons who have been healed, as they have thought miraculously, and who have ever after lived in dread of the increased responsibilities incurred by the renewal of health and strength. The influence of such an atmosphere as this is likely to set bounds even to the craving for life and health which is so deeply rooted in us all. This is a summary of my impressions of the conditions in which the pilgrims are placed at Lourdes; I can now pass on to describe the practical working of the "*bureau des constatations médicales*." During the great solemnities of August and September, when several thousand sick are brought to Lourdes, it is open from early in the morning until late at night; but during my visit there were only 260 invalids, and the working hours were from ten to four or five. Several different classes of patients came to the bureau during that time. There were a few cases of persons who came to seek advice before visiting the shrine; I remarked especially a lady suffering from the results of emotional overstrain, who was handed over to me, and who speedily improved on being encouraged and advised to avoid excitement. Some came to be examined, and have a note of their cases taken, before going to the grotto; these were for the most part isolated pilgrims; those who belong to the organised pilgrimages having to be furnished with medical certificates before leaving home. A few, more seriously ill, or

more nervous, than the rest, came to ask if they might safely bathe in the piscines. There were some sad cases, where the patients had persuaded themselves that they were better, or even cured, but where we had to tell them that their condition was so far unchanged. Among these I remember a poor woman with an extensive sarcoma of the face, and—as might be expected—two cases of advanced phthisis with all the hopefulness common in that disease.

But in the great majority of cases that came for examination after visiting the shrine, there was decided improvement, and often complete recovery. Excluding for the moment a few cases to which I will return presently, the improvement was not more than could conceivably be produced by the action of the mind on the body. These patients might be divided into two classes; in one of which the symptoms were purely neurotic, and where complete recovery was the rule; and another category of persons in whom examination easily detected the persistence of organic disease, but whose general condition was greatly improved. Of the first class—the simply nervous cases—the most numerous examples that I saw were what is called hysterical * paraplegia and paralysis.

Such cases appear to me decidedly more common in hospitals on the Continent than in this country, partly perhaps because there are no workhouse infirmaries to receive them, but mainly I think because the conditions of life are harder there than with us. The number of such cases that go to Lourdes, and the proportion that recover there, cannot be ascertained, for the reasons I have given above, but both are considerable, if I may judge from my own experience. I noted seven such cases which recovered, during the first part of my stay there, when the medical bureau was not open, and when the number of pilgrims was small. One of them, indeed, had been certified by her physician, a German, to be suffering from “*Rückenmarks-schwindsucht*” (locomotor ataxia), but her account of herself to me seemed to prove the case was an hysterical one. I was particularly struck, in these bad hysterical cases, with the immediate recovery, not

* I am compelled to use this word with extreme reluctance; for since the Salpêtrière school has so completely changed the connotation of the term hysteria, it has become even more ambiguous than it was formerly.

merely of the power of movement, but also of the general condition; patients being at once restored to all the appearances of perfect health, to which they had long been strangers. The two following cases, which appear to belong to this class, are worth quoting in detail, both because of their intrinsic interest, and because they are samples of the rich clinical material that comes before the observer at Lourdes:

CASE 5.—A male, thirty-five years of age, one of the Belgian pilgrims, a painter, has suffered from plumbism for nearly five years. The paralysis affected his lower limbs as well as the upper, and he also had anæsthesia, and loss of smell and of taste. He was at first treated by Dr. Houzé, in the Hôpital St. Jean at Brussels. Two years ago he was sent to Paris to be treated by M. Charcot, who twice tried to hypnotise him, but failed. On his return to Brussels he was again treated in the hospital there, and some improvement was effected; but the extensors of both hands were still completely paralysed, the wrists dropped, and the arms could not be raised. After bathing at Lourdes on May 17, the left hand and arm recovered power, and the right limb followed on the 20th, only a little weakness remaining.

The immediate recovery of this patient after such a long course of fruitless treatment is in any case most remarkable. But the symptoms of anæsthesia would no doubt be set down to "hysteria," which Charcot and others have shown to be an occasional result of plumbism. If so, it would in my judgment be impossible to say decidedly that the cure exceeded the conceivable influence of the mind on the body.

CASE 6.—A single pilgrim, a male, sixty-six years of age, fell from a haystack nine months ago and dislocated his left humerus forwards. The dislocation was not reduced, and was followed by paralysis of the flexors of the hand, apparently due to pressure on the median nerve. The loss of power was completely removed, the dislocation being unaffected, on bathing the hand at the grotto on May 22. Here again it seems to me it might be said that the immediate effect of the pressure had passed off, and that the paralysis that was cured was purely psychical in character.

The second class of these cases, in which, the local disease remaining unaffected, the general state greatly improved, were in my experience fewer than those I have just described. Most of those I saw were instances of osteo-arthritis, a fact not without interest considering the neurotic affinities of the disease. But, when we have said that these recoveries do not exceed the possible influence of the mind on the body, their medical interest is by no means exhausted. To say there is nothing remarkable about them, and that they are simply

instances of suggestion carried out on a large scale, is merely to provoke the retort: "Why, then, do you not treat your own patients with equal success?" It must be clear to the most superficial observer that the conditions of suggestion—if suggestion there is—at Lourdes, differ very considerably from those which prevail in the cliniques of Nancy or Paris. There is no evidence of hypnotic manifestations among the pilgrims; and the number of cures of the various neuroses at different times are in no direct ratio to the amount of religious excitement, there being often none during the great pilgrimages and processions. Whatever suggestion there may be must come from within, and, even so, must differ notably from the more common kinds of "auto-suggestion," to use the barbarous word which has been coined for the purpose. Thus, there can be no certain anticipation of cure on the part of the patients; for all are aware that recovery is the exception, not the rule. It is a matter of every-day experience at Lourdes that many who arrive with the most confident belief that they will be healed derive no benefit there; while there are sufficient instances—Dr. Boissarie records a very striking one—where persons were cured who had no hope whatever. The truth appears to me to be, that suggestion is potent in the cure of disease, in proportion, not to its directness and imperiousness, but to its forming a part of the normal mental life of the individual. The former kind of suggestion is like a foreign body, which may compel the living tissues to yield to its impact, but cannot restore health, which must be due to the physiological reaction of the organism. For the same reason, I believe that cure by suggestion is less frequent among the puppets of the Charité and the Salpêtrière, than among the patients treated by the simpler process employed at Nancy; and that it is most real and complete when wrought by the ordinary moral influence of the physician. The wonders worked by this last means will be never fully known, "*carent quia vate sacro*," but they have more elements of permanence about them than those produced by formal hypnotic suggestion.

I do not, however, myself think this is the whole account of the matter. I believe that contact with the supernatural; not only at Lourdes, but in every place where men call for the help of their Creator, may produce much greater effects than

ordinary suggestion or auto-suggestion can accomplish. Such effects would be produced through the influence of the mind on the body; and no argument could be based on individual cases, each of which might be paralleled among instances admittedly natural. But if the environment of patients visiting Lourdes be borne in mind, it will appear very improbable that the kind and degree of suggestion existing there should produce so many complete and permanent cures, even of purely nervous ailments. Nor will this seem antecedently unlikely to theists, who will be prepared to admit that prayer has a superhuman efficacy to change and renew the moral and spiritual nature of man. Those who grant so much will hardly think it unreasonable to believe that such an action may sometimes overflow into the body, which they know to be so intimately connected with the mind.

IV.

The great majority of the cures I witnessed at Lourdes were evidently, in one way or another, due to the influence of the mind on the body; but I saw a few instances, which, if they stand the test of further inquiry, I cannot ascribe to any natural agency. I am not writing a formal work on Lourdes; so that I need not enter into such abstract questions as the limits of the possible influence of the nervous system in healing instantaneously abscesses, wounds, and other organic maladies. I should have done so with great reluctance, because we have not the light of actual experience to guide us. Even Prof. Charcot, when he looked for cures parallel to those recorded at Lourdes, found none in his own vast clinique, but had to go back a hundred and fifty years to the tomb of the Jansenist deacon Paris. Fortunately I need only relate what I have seen, and leave my readers to draw their own conclusions; but before doing so I must describe shortly the way in which the more remarkable cases are studied and tested. All invalids visiting the shrine are requested to bring with them certificates from their ordinary medical attendants, these being obligatory for all who join one of the organised pilgrimages, who also have to bring with them some evidence of their respectability and general antecedents. These certificates are taken as

prima facie proof of the state of the patients ; but no one who has experience in such matters will be surprised to learn that they are often very short, wanting in clearness, and inadequate. When a case of recovery is observed which seems to call for further examination, the certifying medical men are written to for further details ; and the case is published in the " Annales " as an apparent cure. Objections have been raised against this latter step ; but I think, with Dr. Boissarie, that the best means of arriving at the truth in matters of fact is by the fullest publicity. In support of this, he is able to quote instances where their publication led to withdrawal on the part of the medical men, or to such other explanations as removed them from the category of the marvellous. Seventy cases which recovered were reserved for study in 1893, out of which number twenty at most are likely to be thought sufficiently established ; and these again will be subjected to a further inquiry after two or three years, in order to see if recovery is permanent ; a precaution especially necessary to phthisis, epilepsy, and other diseases that naturally run an irregular course. It will be understood that the following cases have not yet had their past history completely investigated ; I have suggested the principal directions which that inquiry will take.

CASE 7.—A female, aged thirty-five, a Lyons pilgrim. She has had caries of the left femur for two years ; two incisions have been made, together 11 inches long, through which diseased bone was removed. Three drainage-tubes were put in, the suppuration was profuse, and the patient was unable to walk, being carried about Lourdes on a stretcher. During her third bath she experienced severe pain, the drainage-tubes fell out, and the wound healed over ; she was able to walk to the bureau, though still lame. On examination the wound was found to be completely closed, though the cicatrix looked quite recent. The patient and her companion produced bandages which were soiled by free suppuration, which they said had been taken off just before the bath. Here inquiry will have to be made of the medical men who attended her, what was the precise state of the wound when last seen at Lyons.

CASE 8.—A female, aged forty-five, also a Lyons pilgrim, brought two certificates from two hospital surgeons at Villefranche, stating that she was suffering from organic disease of the hip-joint. For the last eighteen months she has worn an elaborate support, by the help of which she has been able to walk, but with great difficulty. On May 17, after the bath, she was able to walk easily, though stiffly, without the support, to

the bureau, where we could discover no sign of disease. This patient, who had been a hospital nurse, had no appearance of being hysterical, but cases of supposed joint disease are always suspicious. It will therefore be necessary to make a very close examination of the grounds on which the certifying medical men based their diagnosis.

Cases 8 and 9 are both instances of recovery from blindness, certified to by the medical attendants, but with insufficient details. One was sympathetic ophthalmia, the right eye having been previously destroyed by injury; the other had been apparently glaucoma, for which double iridectomy had been performed without success. Both suddenly recovered their sight while at the grotto, and on coming to the bureau were able to read without difficulty. The left eye in the second patient was much smaller than the right.

CASE 10.—Jean de Brower, twenty-nine, of Oudenarde in Belgium, fell from a ladder on his abdomen thirteen years ago; he was very ill for some time with severe pain and vomiting, and never completely recovered. Three years since he had pleurisy and hæmoptysis, and sixteen months ago the abdominal symptoms became aggravated; there has been ever since much pain and tenderness, considerable distension, vomiting, constipation alternating with diarrhœa, and occasional melæna. He was treated by the physicians of the hospital at Oudenarde, who certify his case to be one of tubercular peritonitis, his local symptoms and general condition meanwhile growing steadily worse. He was brought from Belgium to Lourdes in a bed in the guards' van, being judged too ill to travel in the ordinary way, but he suffered so much and was so weak that the doctor who accompanied the Belgian pilgrimage expected him to die on the road. On his arrival at Lourdes I saw him carried into the hospital on a stretcher, and remarked to a bystander that in England it would be thought criminal to bring patients apparently moribund on such a long journey. On the afternoon of the next day—May 17—he was taken down to the baths, but the attendants refused to bathe him, and merely sponged his abdomen with the water. He immediately felt very severe pain, which, however, only lasted a short time; he wished to walk, but was not allowed to do so. Shortly after, he was taken to the bureau, where he was examined by Dr. Boissarie and two other medical men, who found his abdomen soft, free from pain and tenderness, and so much smaller that his drawers, which before fitted him, were now 30 centimetres (11·81 inches) too large for him in girth. His general weakness and the long disuse of his legs still made walking very difficult to him; he was accordingly carried back to the hospital, where he made a large meal of soup, meat and bread, which gave him no trouble. When I saw him on the 19th there was no sign of illness about him, except some uncertainty of gait, and even this had passed away before he left Lourdes on the 22nd, when he seemed perfectly well. The diagnosis of chronic peritonitis, ordinary or tubercular, is usually easy; and the history given of this patient entirely supports the opinion of the physicians who had attended him. We have to remember, on the other hand, that abdominal diseases are almost proverbially difficult; and that “phantom tumours,” in par-

ticular (I do not know if they have ever been seen in a male), deceive even the elect. The evidence in this case requires, therefore, to be completed by full details from Oudenarde.

The above cases give, I believe, a very good general idea of the questions that are raised at Lourdes by some of the recoveries, and of the way in which they are investigated. The results of such examination in many other instances may be seen in Dr. Boissarie's second book—"Lourdes depuis 1858 jusqu'à nos jours"—published last spring. The principal difficulty arises from the scantiness of the information furnished by the patients' medical attendants, often indifferent or hostile; and most of the various remedies suggested for this do not seem to me satisfactory. For instance, it has been suggested that photographs of every patient should be taken before visiting the shrine; and to some extent this has been done; I saw some well-executed photographs of ulcers brought by Belgian pilgrims. But the province of photography in such matters is a limited one; and the identification of the photographs of persons cured would depend on testimony which might be impugned—who is to prove to an inquirer that a photograph of an ulcer of the leg, for example, really belonged to a person who is alleged to be healed? Again, it is often said that every patient should be examined on arrival at Lourdes by a medical committee. This would not merely be impossible when there are many pilgrims, but the testimony of physicians connected with the shrine might be thought partial and open to some not unnatural suspicion. The recent decision of the Société de St. Luc to appoint a medical committee to examine the sick who join the August pilgrimage from Paris, seems a step more in the right direction. It also seems to me that something might be done by devising a form of certificate which should be supplied to the medical attendants, and which would require the principal symptoms, past and present, as well as the diagnosis based upon them. It is interesting to observe that most of the precautions, on which visitors have insisted before they would accept any cure as supernatural, will be found to have been realised in one or another of the cases recorded. For instance, it is often said that a case, to be satisfactory, should have been seen by an independent medical man immediately before recovery; case 2 quoted above, is one in which this

condition was fulfilled. In case 3, again, the cure was witnessed by several non-professional persons, as M. Zola appears to prefer; while case 4 meets the wishes of those who think that Dr. Boissarie should have seen a case before as well as after recovery. This, however, is by the way; the only point I desire to press is that I believe I have made out a case for inquiry on the part of those who can afford the time. Very probably they will see nothing that clearly transcends the power of nature. Miracles are not worked to order; and if they were, it is always possible to take refuge in the unknown, or to ask for further evidence. But at least every unprejudiced visitor will see much that is very well worth seeing; and may be sure of a cordial welcome, and every facility for studying the material that will be so abundantly provided for him.

J. R. GASQUET, M.B.

ART. VI.—QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE REVOLUTION.

II. THE PREPARATION FOR SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.

AFTER the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and the return of Condé to a temporary allegiance to his King, the position of the English in France underwent a change. Elizabeth, in giving the first impetus to the revolutionary movement, was in a large measure responsible for the disasters caused by the machinery she had set in motion, and even when she was no longer the chief motive power of the rebellion, she was ever ready to widen the breach she had helped to make between the insurgents and their lawful sovereign. It is remarkable that she was never in any single instance on the side that made for law or order. But Throckmorton, who was always reminding her that her greatest chance of success lay in her identifying herself with the Protestant cause, had ceased to influence her policy. By the French loyalists he was naturally looked upon with deep suspicion; and even the Huguenots, now that their star was in the ascendant, evinced but little gratitude for the help, without which it would have been impossible for them to have attained the proud position they enjoyed. Throckmorton's day was practically over, and of Elizabeth's two ambassadors in France, Sir Thomas Smith, although vastly his inferior in shrewdness and experience, was by far the more important and powerful. His advice to the Queen to throw over the Huguenots, in the hope that the King of France would before long offer her Calais, was more to the credit of his tact than of his political insight. As they however, in the first flush of their triumph showed that they esteemed the friendship of Elizabeth but lightly, it was evidently her best policy to pursue her own ends independently of them.

Intoxicated by success, and keen as ever to discover analogies between their cause and that of the ancient people of God, the Huguenots compared Poltrot the assassin, to Judith, smiting Holofernes. A book was printed in order to

justify the crime by references to passages in the Bible; and Poltrot was accounted a martyr, while his portrait, carefully preserved, was honoured as Catholics honour relics.* But while the Huguenots were worshipping Poltrot, Coligny was exposed to the hatred of the Catholic populace, as at least the accomplice of a mean and dastardly act from which all true men must recoil with horror. "God give," wrote Sir Thomas Smith, "that he be not killed, as they say he killed the Duke of Guise."

The fear expressed in these words was not unfounded, for the whole country writhed under the yoke of the exultant rebels. As their power had grown, so had their cruelties. Pillage and murder were now crimes of daily occurrence.

In April 1562, Throckmorton writing to Elizabeth, described their excesses in the west. Tours and its castle had fallen into their hands with a good store of ammunition. Not far from Tours was the rich abbey of Marmoutier, where they defaced all the images, and stole the relics and costly treasures from the church. These were but the beginnings, and the city of Orleans will for ever bear the traces of the lawlessness to which it fell a prey under Condé.

The churches were wrecked, and the Cathedral was turned into barracks. At St. Aignan relics of the saints were publicly burned in the market-place, and the Blessed Sacrament was openly profaned. At Patay, the scene of Joan of Arc's victory, the Huguenots caused twenty-four persons who had taken refuge in the heltry from their violence, to be burned alive. Priests and religious were the special objects of their fury. To the brutality with which these were executed in England, was added a refinement of barbarity. If the victims were still alive, after having been tied to the tails of horses and dragged over the stones and through the mire to the place of execution, their hands, feet and noses were cut off, and their eyes dug out. Then they were flayed and strung up to trees as targets to be shot at.†

Thus it will be seen that the abominations committed by the "Beggars" of the Netherlands, by the Anabaptists in

* Francis Peyto to Throckmorton, Oct. 31, 1564. R. O.

† Maimbourg, "Histoire du Calvinisme en France," l. iv. p. 244.

Germany, and by the Puritans in England were equalled, if not surpassed, in France. The infamous Baron des Adrets, whom the people called "the new Attila," was Coligny's faithful agent in the south. In taking possession of Lyons in May 1562, his first act was to declare freedom of conscience and of religious worship; his next, to abolish Mass, and to forbid any priest to celebrate, under pain of death. Twice a week he obliged the Lyonese to listen to a Huguenot discourse composed of invectives against their religion, imposing a penalty of ten livres for each absence. Scarcely a church in the south of France escaped destruction. At Grenoble, monks and nuns were tortured to induce them to apostatise. The Grande Chartreuse was delivered to the flames. The whole population of the little town of Mornas in Provence, was put to the sword, and the three hundred soldiers who defended the garrison were hurled from the ramparts into the plain below. Montbrison was entirely given up to the brutality of Des Adret's soldiery, and the night which followed the taking of this town was passed in atrocities, of which assassination was the least horrible. The sun rose on a scene which beggars description; livid corpses, hideously mangled, were heaped up in the market-place, and the streets literally ran rivers of blood.*

Even Calvin remonstrated with the immediate author of these inhuman cruelties, although he by no means disowned, but on the contrary approved, the *principle* of civil war and revolt from legitimate authority, of which they were the outcome.

After the victory of Dreux, the King had declared an amnesty in favour of the insurgents, but, instead of laying down his arms, Coligny marched into Normandy, leaving fire and blood in his train. At Sully, according to the Protestant historian La Poplinière, he caused thirty priests to be stabbed, and several others to be thrown into the Loire.

We must anticipate events somewhat, in order to point out the excesses committed by "those of the religion" in their capture of La Rochelle in 1568. The Jarnac manuscript†

* Vie du Baron des Adrets, Allard; also Maimbourg, Castelnau, Brantôme and others.

† See Jager, vol. xv.

describes how that priests and laity were treated with greater cruelty than would have been practised by an army of Turks, had they landed in that place. In all the towns which fell into the hands of the Huguenots, the same story was repeated, but Nîmes witnessed scenes unequalled for cruelty by any which signalled the fearful vengeance of the night of St. Bartholomew. At Nîmes, all that was done was done in cold blood; there was an entire absence of that popular frenzy which made every attempt futile to stem the tide of retaliation on the awful night of the 24th August, 1572. A solemn torchlight procession was formed, and silently, with horrible precision and passionless regularity, such as would not have been out of place in a court of justice, the Catholics were made to march one by one to their death. The place of execution was the crypt of the parish church, where as each victim arrived, the Huguenot poignard was buried in his bosom. Men, furnished with torches were stationed on the steeple and at the belfry windows, to illuminate the scene of carnage, which lasted from eleven o'clock at night, till six in the morning.* The following year, the persecution was renewed, but instead of shedding blood, the Huguenots contented themselves with hurling their victims into a deep well, outside the town, and for many years afterwards this well was called by the inhabitants of Nîmes "the well of the evil death."†

What the Baron des Adrets was in the south, such was Gabriel de Montgomery in Normandy, and the history of his progresses is but a repetition of the atrocities we have taken at random from a host of similar scenes. They will suffice to form some estimate of the accumulation of wrongs which embittered the lives of the people during the twelve years in which the Huguenots were virtually masters of France. And yet these things have all been forgotten, and the reply of a people goaded to madness is alone remembered. It was inevitable that when the day of reckoning came it should be an awful one.

To every impartial mind [wrote Segretain], after half a century of war and massacre, in the midst of scenes of violence to which there promised

* Cantù, "Histoire Universelle," vol. xv. Notes.

† "La Popelinière," l. xx.

to be no end, St. Bartholomew is no longer a marvel of horrors of which Catholicism bears the responsibility, witnessing to its own barbarous intolerance. It was far rather the day of retribution for so many similar days celebrated in like manner by the Huguenots. It remains the fulfilment of a perverse policy, but of a policy that was supported by a whole nation, only asking for leave to fall upon their prey, in their thirst to avenge the blood of their murdered brethren, and their religion so long trodden under foot and outraged.*

But we must return to the year 1563, to find the Queen Regent embarrassed between the exultant rebels, and a party henceforth without a leader. Unmoved by the sight of all that the nation was suffering from Huguenot intolerance and cruelty, and considering only that they were likely to endanger the very existence of the throne, Catherine resolved to make peace with them. She had already succeeded in winning over Condé, who, in spite of Elizabeth's anathemas, was well enough pleased with the result of his secession. He had obtained from the Regent, the famous edict of Amboise, by which the Protestants were formerly reinstated in their possessions, with the liberty to practise their religion in certain towns named in the edict. But Coligny, dissatisfied with these terms, which he considered inadequate, demurred and reproached the Prince with having wrought the ruin of more Protestant churches than the combined forces of the enemy would have destroyed in ten years. But, notwithstanding this dissatisfaction, Sir Thomas Smith assured Elizabeth that the Admiral would not prove a more faithful ally than Condé; and when it was found that both Huguenot chiefs had received from the French government a large share of the sum levied on the Catholic clergy under pretext of an impoverished exchequer, Coligny's name, together with that of the Prince, was held up to public scorn throughout England. Pending negotiations, Coligny slowly made up his mind to the inevitable, while Catherine in her fortified castle of Blois was uncertain in what spirit he was advancing to meet her. Peace was at last signed under the walls of Blois, and on the 25th March, the Admiral entered the town followed by his lawless soldiery. Catherine could see them from her windows pillaging the neighbourhood for miles around, utterly regardless of the treaty that had just

* *Sixte Quint et Henri Quatre.*

been signed. She went out however, to meet Coligny with expressions of the most cordial friendship, knowing well the value of adroit flattery, and the Admiral's particular sensitiveness in this respect. He on his part, held out hopes that he might induce the English to surrender the towns of Normandy, which they held, on condition that he should be allowed to march into the Low Countries, a favour which he esteemed above all others. The peace was followed by public rejoicings and mutual congratulations. The Court swarmed with Huguenots; when the King went to Mass, his suite, consisting chiefly of Protestants, remained at the Church door; and it was expected that their service would soon be allowed in the palace.

As was to be expected, the turn matters had taken met with no sympathy in England, and the loud assertions of Condé and Coligny that they had had nothing to do with letting the English into Hâvre, only increased the irritation. The blame of that proceeding they threw on the Vidame of Chartres and Beauvoir, who, thus accused, declared that they had acted under the orders of the two chiefs, and had received sealed instructions from Condé. The same day Middlemore informed the Earl of Warwick, who had taken possession of Hâvre with a large and well-disciplined force, that both Coligny and the Prince of Condé had pronounced against the restitution of Calais.

The French [he added bitterly] may change their religion but not their character. Be on your guard against their treachery. Every Frenchman ought to excite our suspicion, and as they all have the same character, I am not better disposed towards one than towards the others. It behoves us to keep Hâvre better than we kept Calais.*

The case was hard, but Englishmen ought to have reflected that men who had proved themselves traitors to their country were scarcely likely to remain faithful to their allies, when instead of disgrace and punishment, wealth and honours awaited them at home. Elizabeth could do no more for them than Catherine was willing to do. It was feared that Condé would desert the Huguenots altogether. "It only depends on Catherine," wrote Chantonnay, "to take him to Mass."

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 379.

The new allies were now apparently so much absorbed in feasting and rejoicings, that onlookers might well be justified in thinking them a little oblivious of their position with regard to England. Sir Thomas Smith perceived the advantage that might even now accrue from resolute action. Instead of for ever *claiming* Calais, Elizabeth's advisers would do well in the midst of the general confusion, if they had the courage, to *seize* it without more ado. But to this Elizabeth replied that she had formal promises signed and sealed by Coligny and the Prince.*

Meanwhile Catherine had invited Coligny to enter her good city of Paris, but it was still so much agitated by the murder of the Duke of Guise, that when the Admiral had advanced within two leagues of the capital, the Constable of France came out and advised him to retire, declaring that his presence within the walls would but increase the irritation which the bare mention of his name evoked. The whole Parliament were against him, and if the Constable had not taken him under his protection, he would probably have been killed there and then.†

Charles IX. had summoned Elizabeth, peace being restored in France, to evacuate Havre; but she had replied that not having occupied that port in the Huguenot interest, but in her own, she meant to hold it until it was exchanged for Calais.

Preparations were therefore made for the siege of Havre, and money being scarce, Charles summoned the Council of the city of Paris to raise a loan of one hundred thousand crowns in order to rid France of the English. They only replied by murmurs, and the King then ordered the temporal goods of the Church to be sold to the amount required. On the 6th July, war was declared with England, and the French troops poured into Normandy. Condé appeared under the royal standard, when the French army assailed the ramparts of Havre. "His inconstancy is such," wrote Middlemore to Cecil, "and he has so far forgotten God and his honour, that he invites those of the religion to serve in this war against the

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 394.

† Languet, Letter of June 20, 1563.

Queen of England.”* In spite of Middlemore’s appeal to Warwick that they should keep Hâvre better than they had kept Calais, the garrison made but a feeble show of resistance. Their supply of fresh water coming to an end, the plague broke out, whereupon the place capitulated, only a few moments before the English fleet bringing provisions and reinforcements of men appeared on the horizon.†

Condé flattered himself that he would now be made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, according to a promise that had been made him, as a reward for what he had done; but Catherine circumvented his ambition by declaring the majority of her son, thus maintaining a position of authority which she was determined to share with no one.‡ It was, however, at the same time convenient to ignore the fact that the Prince had been mainly responsible for introducing into France the very enemies he had just helped to expel, and he continued to enjoy the greatest favour at Court. He was even able to make the Vidame of Chartres, who had actually given up Havre to the English, at least tolerated.

Thus it will be seen that patriotism under Catherine of Medici had sunk to a very low ebb. Coligny was also frequently to be seen at Court, though not without exciting the indignation of the nobility, and the widow of the Duke of Guise demanded in vain, notwithstanding his laboured “purgations,” that he should be brought to justice. The more he protested his innocence, the more public opinion pronounced him guilty, but the matter was destined never to be satisfactorily settled.

Foremost among the new favourites was Madame de Crussol, celebrated for her piquancy, her sharp tongue, and her political intrigues. A rabid Huguenot, she had the power of disposing of abbeys and rich benefices, and was even able to appropriate the revenues of a vacant bishopric in Provence. She kept up a secret correspondence with Queen Elizabeth, and expressed the confidence of the whole Huguenot party when she declared: “This year the Mass will be abolished throughout France!” Charles IX., to whom the saying was reported,

* Middlemore to Cecil, July 19, 1563, Forbes, vol. ii. p. 473.

† Le Frère, p. 208.

‡ Dupleix, p. 659.

replied, probably at his mother's instigation: "And I will cut off the head of any one who refuses to go to Mass!"*

The King, thus strangely reconciled with all the conflicting elements among his people, made a proclamation to the effect that strict obedience to his orders would be exacted. The nobles he declared had but one master, and that master was the King.

It only remained for England to lay down her arms, and the treaty of Troyes was accordingly signed on April 11, 1564. Elizabeth made some difficulties about Calais, but Catherine settled for ever the destiny of that port by promising to repay her the money she had lent to Condé. Charles was invested with the order of the Garter, and the youthful monarch feigned, as was expected of him, to enter the lists as Elizabeth's suitor. He assured her that he esteemed her love and amity more than gold or silver.† The only discontented person was Throckmorton. There had been considerable friction during the whole process of the negotiations between Elizabeth's two ambassadors in France, and at the conclusion of the treaty this friction developed into an open quarrel. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton finally returned to England in disgust, leaving Sir Thomas Smith in attendance at the French Court.

Catherine's chief anxiety henceforth was to maintain a safe equilibrium between the two conflicting parties in the State, and it must be confessed that she showed little partiality for either. When the Huguenots took offence at what they considered an undue share of favour on the part of the Queen towards the Catholics, she was quite ready to turn her back upon the Guises, and to show Condé or Coligny some special sign of regard. But it was not long before she became aware of the danger of such a policy. The object of all the concessions made to the Huguenots, was the maintenance of the King's authority and prestige; but it was clear that instead of strengthening the royal cause, she had by her want of integrity, decision, and courage stultified her own object and brought about the very catastrophe she wished to avoid. All that the Huguenots did, made for revolution, and the more they basked

* Spanish Despatches of 1564. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1501.

† Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," Foreign Series, 1564-5.

in the royal favour, the less secure was the throne. "The Court of France," wrote Cardinal Granvelle, "is now convinced that unless the Catholic religion is restored it will be impossible to uphold the King's authority." A firm resistance at the beginning of the peace could not have but kept the rebels in check, and have caused the King's government to be respected; a change of policy which was clearly the result of fear, brought it into contempt. The greater the weakness displayed towards them, the more intolerant they became. Henceforth Catherine, whom they had hailed as the Esther who was to be their salvation, was never called by any other name than Jezebel. They threatened her with assassination, and circulated a pamphlet in which it was declared lawful to kill any one opposed to what they were pleased to term "the spread of the Gospel." A man, lying under sentence of death, confessed that he had received money from Coligny to assassinate the King,* and when he was confronted with his accomplices, he repeated his confession; but it was thought dangerous to found an accusation against Coligny without further proof, and the man's execution was hurried on.

Meanwhile, the Court being absent in the south, the Huguenots took the opportunity to multiply their secret meetings, and there was a confused talk of a recourse to arms. They divided the whole of France into districts, in order that a rising might the more easily be effected; and it was whispered that in a week they would be able to muster eight thousand horse.† They were ready to rise at Lyons, at Orleans, at Bordeaux, and in Languedoc; so great were their numbers that in October 1564 twelve thousand of them partook of the Lord's supper at Orleans alone.‡ There was a rumour that Condé was to form a junction with the Admiral at Compiègne, and that their united armies would be ten thousand strong. Coligny, supported by the Protestant princes of Germany, was to demand the hand of Elizabeth.

Catherine, at last driven as it were into a corner, made a public profession of her zeal for the Catholic religion in presence of the Papal Legate at Avignon, and took part in one of

* Davila, Book IV.

† Languet, "Sel. Epis.," p. 311.

‡ Nat. Arch., Paris, Simon Renard.

those fervent religious processions so common in the south. At that moment the Archbishop of Glasgow arrived at Avignon, for the purpose of securing her help in a war against England, of which the object was the deliverance of the persecuted English Catholics, and the advancement of Mary Stuart's claim to the throne. Hereupon followed a network of alliances and counter-alliances which in their turn were disregarded and new ones formed, without serving any cause but that of personal ambition and self-interest. In the midst of these, Catherine made up her mind to an interview with her daughter, the young Queen of Spain, at the foot of the Pyrenees. If Philip could be persuaded to accompany his wife, much as Catherine feared and disliked him, a league might be arranged between them against the heretics of France and the Netherlands. But before the proposed meeting could take place, Philip had quarrelled with the Pope on a matter of precedence between the ambassadors of Spain and France at Rome. He had sent away the Nuntio from Madrid, had recalled his ambassador from the Papal Court, and was at least listening to a proposal made by Coligny and Count Egmont, to help the Huguenots against the King of France. Condé was opposed to any alliance with Spain, and declared that he would forsake the Huguenots altogether and even become the Pope's ally rather than form any friendship with Philip II.* The negotiations therefore went on without him.

Although Philip was too much a Catholic at heart to think seriously of such a coalition, there was, if not a complete rupture, at least a coolness between him and Catherine, who made advances towards Elizabeth, in exact proportion to the distrust with which she regarded her son-in-law. Just about this time Elizabeth quarrelled with Leicester, and wrote the mysterious sentence regarding him in a book at Windsor, and Catherine, thinking to turn the Queen's pique to her own advantage, once more proposed, through the French ambassador in London, a marriage between Elizabeth and Charles.

These advances towards Elizabeth were but a preliminary step towards a fresh reconciliation with the Huguenots, who as soon as hostilities were suspended, began to declare boldly

* Phayre, Letter of April 26, 1565. R. O.

that before long, Charles IX. would re-enter Paris as a Protestant.

Between the Huguenots and the Infidels there was, in Catherine's mind, no impassable gulf fixed, and once having shown herself ready to treat with the rebels, knowing to the full their hatred of law, order and discipline, and seeing the effects of their ascendancy in the deeds of blood daily committed by them throughout the French provinces, it ceases to be surprising that she should seek to strengthen her position by an alliance with the Turks. But they were preparing to make a descent upon Venice, and Catherine, in allying herself with them, drew upon herself the odium of having formed a friendship with the bitterest enemies of Christendom. When at length the long-deferred interview with Philip took place at Bayonne, she was anxious to keep this negotiation a secret from him; but it was divulged by the English ambassador to Don Francis Alava, Philip's representative at Paris. At this celebrated interview, the principal matter under discussion was the question of the Huguenot rebels. The sacrifice of a certain number of their leaders would, in the opinion of the Duke of Alva, prevent torrents of blood in the future,* and his predictions were completely verified by after events; but it was soon found that nothing would induce Catherine to act towards them with any degree of firmness or consistency. "All good people have lost courage," wrote Don Francis Alava, "especially those who have heard the Queen Mother talk religion."

Promises and apparently resolutions were not wanting on her part, for Philip was able to write as follows to Cardinal Pacheco :

My intention having been clearly expressed of seeing religious affairs settled in France, with entire obedience to the King, the Queen-Mother has undertaken, in presence of the Duke of Alva, to remedy the evil as soon as possible, that is, as soon as she has returned from her journey. This resolution has been kept secret, for if it were known the remedy would become difficult.

But Philip was profoundly ignorant of Catherine's character, if he really placed any reliance on promises wrung from her at

* Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1504; Letters of the Duke of Alva, June 21, 1565.

a moment when she appeared to be full of fervour and emotion. Her beautiful eyes might indeed fill with tears, and her voice tremble, as she owned that she would be ungrateful to God if she did not make every sacrifice for the upholding of religion; but she was incapable of any fixed purpose, except the purpose to commit herself to nothing, and after the interview at Bayonne she remained what she had always been, a true daughter of the Medici and an apt pupil of Machiavelli. The passions of her soul were manifold; she was cruel, vindictive, and unscrupulous, but her greed for power was stronger in her than all else.

She was as ready to sacrifice her children to her own ambition, as she was to betray her conscience and the religion about which she could discourse so eloquently. Her capacity for business was as great as her love of the fine arts, qualities which she inherited from the great Florentine merchants her forbears. For her splendid horsemanship, the French compared her to the goddess Diana; but when the chase was done, arrayed in rich gold and silver brocades from the looms of Italy, and sparkling with gems that added a lustre to her singular beauty, she could assume a manner rather suggestive of a sultana than of the shrewd woman of business, or of the chaste huntress of mythology. Whether she actually took part or not in the disorders for which her Court was notorious, she was certainly at no pains to purify its moral atmosphere. It is well known that at one period she gave herself up to divination and sorcery under the guidance of the Italian, Fregoso. Brantôme, who drew a vivid, if somewhat imaginative picture of the Queen Mother surrounded by the wit and beauty of the ladies of her Court, compares her with them to a brilliant constellation in a clear sky. The Court was brilliant enough, but the sky was by no means cloudless.

The Huguenots, as might be expected, dissatisfied, suspicious of Catherine, had no intention of accepting their actual position as final, though they had attained to a power in the State beyond what had once been their fondest dream. Recent events in the Netherlands were not calculated to teach them submission, and like the demagogues of the present day, their leaders were careful to fan the flames of discontent by telling the poor among them how miserable they were, how cruel the

taxes, and how different their lot would be in a total overthrow of the established order of things.

Another language was of course held to the nobles. They were reminded of the ancient glory of France, which it behoved them to revive; and it was adroitly insinuated that although kings were mortal, the kingly office need never die out in France, while monarchs could be recruited from their midst. This tone concealed a plot, and the plot was nothing less bold than to seize the King, dethrone him and put Condé in his place.* Condé's bearing had already become openly insolent. He not only called upon Charles with imperious persistence to declare war against Spain, in defence of the rebels in the Netherlands, but when the King refused, he replied haughtily that he would himself in a few days raise an army of four or five thousand horse, wherewith to make a beginning.

On the vigil of the Feast of St. Michael, 1567, Charles was awakened at midnight in the castle of Monceau, with the news that a band of mounted insurgents, under the command of Admiral Coligny and de Genlis, had crossed the Marne, and were advancing rapidly towards the place, in order to effect his capture. There was only just time to reach Meaux in safety. Here a conference was held with the Huguenot chiefs, and Charles IX. showed that he had the stuff in him of which great and noble kings are made, and that if the qualities with which Providence had endowed him had been allowed free scope to develop, his might not have been least among the honoured names of history. But the delay occasioned by the conference nearly proved fatal to his freedom, and while General Peiffer with a few companies of Swiss Guards was hastening to his help, he was being gradually hemmed in on every side. Moved by the devotion of the little army of rescue who offered to escort him to Paris, although their ever reaching it seemed next to an impossibility, Charles drew his sword declaring that he would rather die as a king than live a captive, and pushing through a country infested by the rebels, continually surprised, intercepted and harassed by them, he arrived with his handful of troops to within a few leagues of his capital. Here he was met by reinforcements commanded by the Duke d'Aumale.

* "Mézeray," vol. iii. p. 157. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1507³³.

The plot to capture him had failed, but he was heard to declare that he would never forgive the Huguenots their treachery.* It would at least have been well if he had remembered of what they were capable, and had guarded his interests better in the sequel.

Catherine, vacillating even at this juncture, offered the traitors an amnesty if they would lay down their arms in the course of twenty-four hours. But they would listen to no terms, and on the 2nd October, Coligny occupied St. Denis with his army. Condé had hoped to welcome a contingent of English troops, but having received intelligence that Elizabeth would only furnish him with three hundred archers from among the Flemish refugees who had landed at Sandwich, he hastened from Boulogne to join the bulk of the Huguenot forces. He was received at St. Denis with acclamation. His first act was to set up barricades, so that no person might penetrate without leave into the ancient abbey, where a long line of French kings had been crowned and anointed. Here, in the presence of a few comrades, he placed upon his own head the crown of St. Louis, and caused himself to be proclaimed "Louis XIII. by the grace of God, first King of the faithful followers of the Gospel." On the 7th October coin was circulated bearing the same device.†

The Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency, in command of the royal army, sent a herald in the King's name, summoning him to retire. Condé received the herald at the entrance to his lodging with these words: "If you dare to pronounce the word rebellion, I will have you hanged above this door!"‡ But notwithstanding this proud attitude, experience had taught him that he could not hope to hold his ground without allies, and once more his hopes were centred in Elizabeth. Her sympathy with the "Beggars" of the Netherlands led their brethren in France to believe that when the decisive moment came she would follow up her promises with substantial help. Condé therefore wrote her a long letter

* Brantôme, vol. v. p. 267. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1508.

† Le Frère, p. 239. Brantôme, vol. iv. p. 343. See also a letter from the Duke of Alva to Chantonnay, "Le Prince de Cordé s'est fait appeler roi Louis XIII. par le peuple de Saint Denis, battant monnaie et faissant autres actes de souveraineté."

‡ Letter of Don Francis Alava. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1508.

claiming her support and seeking to justify the insurrection. "Were not," he said, "the early Christians persecuted as the enemies of Cæsar? And was not the cause of the Huguenots identical with theirs, the cause of the Gospel?" But lest this reason should not seem potent enough to Elizabeth's practical mind, he was careful to let her know that if she helped them she should not be forgotten in the parcelling out of the soil of France. Elizabeth was however menaced by the arrival of a Spanish army in the Netherlands, and she declined to take part in this second civil war. Perhaps also a natural grudge against Condé for his former desertion may have influenced her refusal.

Nor was the attempt to secure the co-operation of the Prince of Orange more successful, although the Huguenot camp was strengthened by the arrival of a few of the boldest and most enterprising of the *Gueux*, and Condé perhaps affected an assurance that he did not feel, when he declared that before a month had passed he would march into the Low Countries and deliver his friends from Spanish thralldom. Meanwhile, Catherine, in spite of her reluctance to call in Philip's aid, had obtained a promise of help from him, and on the 4th October the Duke of Alva announced that he had received instructions to march to the rescue of the King of France, the Queen Regent having solemnly engaged to have done for ever with all fellowship with the enemies of the Catholic religion in France.* The Guises on their part, knowing how little reliance could be placed on Catherine's adhesion to any one line of policy, and desiring at all costs to secure the friendship of Spain, offered the reversion of the crown to Philip II. in the event of Charles IX. dying without issue. Such an arrangement was less extraordinary than at first appears, for if the Salic law were set aside by a recourse to arms, as it so easily might be, Philip would have serious pretensions to that crown through his wife Elizabeth of France, sister of the French king.

Matters being thus arranged, the Spanish contingent, consisting of fifteen hundred horse and two thousand foot soldiers, entered France. These numbers, although small, obliged

* Documents inédits, vol. iv. pp. 465, 470.

Condé to divide his army, in order to defend the bridge at Poissy, and thus he weakened himself considerably. On the 10th November was fought the bloody battle of Saint Denis, the result of which was to drive the Huguenots from the banks of the Seine, and to make their designs upon the Low Countries impossible. In this battle was seen the strange sight of a Prince of the Church fighting on the side of heresy and rebellion. This was Cardinal de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, Coligny's brother, who having joined the Huguenots, continued to wear the purple in order to retain his rank in the Council Chamber. The victory was undisputed, but Charles was unable to prevent Condé from besieging Chartres, although the self-made king had no money wherewith to pay his soldiers, who began to murmur loudly. He was at length forced to treat with Catherine, who as usual, instead of profiting by the advantages she had gained, was willing to accept any condition he chose to dictate.

Thus the shameful Peace of Chartres was signed on the 23rd March, and the only concession required of Condé was that he should lay down the royalty he had assumed. With this understanding, the King declared him to be his "good cousin and faithful servant," and his followers were not only to have all their rights and privileges restored to them, but were to be styled "faithful and loving subjects." To complete the folly and humiliation, Charles undertook to pay the German Reiters who had invaded his kingdom and had fought with his rebellious subjects against him.

The blindest optimism could scarcely have expected a durable peace to grow out of such a grovelling policy as this. The Peace of Chartres lasted but a few months. The Huguenots considered it little more than a momentary suspension of hostilities, and they did not even disarm. Not only moreover, did they retain certain of the towns they had agreed to surrender, but fortified themselves in La Rochelle, henceforth the capital of Huguenot France.

Philip II., disgusted with the terms of the treaty, declared that he was no longer the ally of the French King; whereupon the Prince of Orange entering France to support the Huguenots, the scale again rose in their favour. It was reported that they had decreed the death of the Queen

Mother, a crime which we may describe in their own language as unnecessary, since intentionally or not, she had ever proved herself their best friend.

Condé was now in a better position for securing Elizabeth's help, and he again wrote to her saying that he counted on a continuance of her favour for the furtherance of so good and holy a cause.* Cecil replied by ordering the English ambassador to negotiate with the chiefs of the Huguenots with a view to the intervention of England; and on the 6th December, 1568, a treaty was concluded between Elizabeth and the Prince of Condé, to the effect that she would lend him her aid in return for the salt and salt springs of Saintonge and the wool of the Poitou sheep, together with the metal of all bells torn down from the churches and monasteries.† In the following July Elizabeth handed over 20,000 pounds sterling to the Cardinal de Châtillon, for the acknowledged purpose of disseminating rebellion in France. The jewels of the Queen of Navarre were given to her as a security for the money.‡

The battle of Jarnac, so disastrous to the Huguenots, was fought on the 13th March, 1569. Condé was taken prisoner and then killed, in revenge for the death of the Marshal St. André, who was stabbed when a prisoner after the battle of Dreux. The Huguenots had seized Poitiers, but the energy of the Duke of Anjou drove them from that town, and they were again defeated in the famous battle of Moncontour. These victories were celebrated by the Royalists with a succession of brilliant fêtes and pageants.

"So much money is spent in balls and masquerades," said Tavannes, "that there is none left to pay the soldiers with."

Nevertheless, the insurgents were now thoroughly alarmed; with the loss of Condé it seemed as if the fortunes of war were turning against them, and they sent an imploring letter to Cecil.

"Help us," they wrote, "for we are the advanced guard of England!" §

* "Le XVIème siècle et les Valois," p. 234.

† Le Frère, p. 311. Castelnau, vol. vii. chap. ii. De Thou, vol. v. pp. 552 and 556.

‡ Lansdown MSS., 102, 80. B. M.

§ October 16, 1569. Record Office.

A sentence had been passed by the Parliament setting a price on Coligny's head, and this was renewed, but everything that was done to bring matters to a decisive issue was constantly stultified by Catherine's policy of playing off one party against the other.

It was Elizabeth's interest that no permanent peace should be established in France, and when Catherine proceeded as usual to court the vanquished in order to humble the victors, the Queen of England offered Coligny a subsidy of 25,000 crowns as the price of his consent not to treat with Charles.* The Cardinal de Châtillon, now an exile in England, also wrote to his brother entreating him not to separate himself from the English.

But Coligny knew well by experience that he could always make good terms for himself at home, and he assured the Queen Mother that she possessed no more affectionate servant than he was and always intended to be. A treaty was therefore again signed at St. Germain in spite of Elizabeth, and the Huguenots were declared good citizens, capable of occupying all public offices. The fortified towns of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and La Charité were assigned to them. But scarcely was the treaty signed than a report was circulated to the effect that the Queen Mother was setting a trap by which the entire Huguenot body was to be exterminated. This supposed trap, called the "Royal Hunt," had, in reality, no other foundation than a remark made by Charles to Cardinal Rambouillet, the purport of which was that he had only made peace that he might save his crown, and that he was minded to follow another road by which one day he would cleanse his whole kingdom.†

Thus, although peace had been concluded, there was no peace. The Huguenots, practically the masters, seized a quantity of powder which the King was sending to St. Jean d'Angely, and carried it off to La Rochelle. Compromising letters were intercepted at Havre, written by Coligny to the Queen of England, and such was the universal panic that Charles on the eve of his marriage to Elizabeth of Austria,

* Letter from Don Francis Alava, June 17, 1570. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1515.

† "Mémoires de la Huguerie," vol i. p. 9.

thought it prudent to prevent her further progress towards Paris, and went out to meet her at Mézières, where the ceremony took place. The state of public insecurity was no barrier to inordinate display and thoughtless rejoicings on this occasion. The King abandoned himself with a kind of frenzy to every extravagant device for his amusement.* The young Queen however, described by Alava as "an angel of goodness," was not deceived by these appearances, and it was remarked that her eyes constantly filled with tears, but that the King showed her little affection or regard.

It was about this time that the Duke of Anjou, under his mother's influence, and supported by Huguenot interests, appeared as an aspirant to the hand of Queen Elizabeth. There could have been little desire on his own part for such a marriage, for besides the disparity of their ages, he was madly in love with the beautiful Mademoiselle de Châteauneuf, at whose side he would pass whole weeks and months utterly oblivious of war or politics.†

He had moreover, long ceased to identify himself with the Protestants. "Le petit Huguenot" of his childhood, in spite of Catherine's system of education, had not developed into "le grand Huguenot," and added to these reasons, Catherine herself admitted that the Duke was the less willing to marry Elizabeth as he had always heard bad reports of her reputation.‡ A few weeks later Walsingham declared that the Duke seemed cold, undecided, and but little disposed towards a union, the trials and dangers of which he did not underrate. At the very moment when the marriage was publicly announced, it was in fact definitely broken off, and Walsingham informed Cecil that neither the threats of the King nor the entreaties of the Queen Mother had succeeded in making the Duke of Anjou conclude the match.§ He himself wrote to Elizabeth a letter in which he thanked her for her kindness, but regretted that so many difficulties opposed the accomplishment of what he would otherwise have so ardently desired.

* "Discours des nocés du roi." Bib. Nat., Paris, f. fr. 20647.

† Harl. MSS., 253. B. M.

‡ "D'autant qu'il a toujours si mal oui parler de son honneur." Corr. de la Mothe. Lettre de Catherine de Medici, vol. vii.

§ Foreign Papers, July 27, 1571. R. O.

He ended by assuring her that she might always count on his feelings of devotion towards her.* Elizabeth never forgave him this insult, and three years afterwards she told Montgomery that if the Duke of Anjou became king she would dethrone him even if it cost her her crown.†

Meanwhile, the marriage of the King of Navarre with Margaret of Valois was to cement the Peace of St. Germain, by uniting the noblest Huguenot chief to a Catholic princess of the blood-royal. The bride had been affianced by Henry II. as a child to the Duke of Guise, who now in vain claimed her for his wife. Charles IX. informed the young Princess that unless she consented to a union with Henry of Navarre she would be imprisoned for life in a convent, and to this threat she yielded, hoping against hope that the refusal of the Pope to grant a dispensation would set her free at the last moment. Not only was the dispensation refused, but all means were employed to save her from a marriage which every sincere Catholic deplored. The Pope sent a special legate, Cardinal Alexandrini, to the King, with orders to spare neither entreaty nor remonstrance to avert the impending evil. But to every appeal Charles had but one reply: "It is my only means of taking vengeance on my enemies."

St. Francis Borgia at first appeared to be more successful in a like mission to Catherine. She assured him with the fervour she could so easily simulate that she would rather die than conclude her daughter's marriage without a dispensation.‡ Yet, although the dispensation was never granted, two successive Popes, Gregory XIII. and St. Pius V., having persistently refused it, the contract was signed on August 17, 1572. Charles was heard to say that he gave his sister, not merely to the Prince of Navarre, but to all the Huguenots in France that she might as it were espouse them all.

Two days later, the religious ceremony was performed outside the church of Notre Dame, a Papal despatch announcing the speedy arrival of the dispensation having been forged for the purpose of deceiving those whose consciences might otherwise have prevented their attendance. A vast platform had been

* Foreign Papers, July 31, 1571.

† Castelnau, "Memoirs," p. 414.

‡ Letters from Philip II. to Francis Borgia. Nat. Arch., Paris. K. 1526.

erected in front of the church for the celebration of the nuptials. The bride wore a splendid crown and a rich bodice of ermine; her dress sparkled with jewels, and three princesses held up her train of royal blue velvet. But her face was sad, and she made no answer when she was asked whether she accepted the Prince of Navarre for her husband. Charles, however, stepping forward obliged her to bow her head in token of obedience, the only sign of assent that she gave.

Mass was then said inside the church, and Margaret was the only assistant.*

Coligny, in the meantime, had established himself in the old château of Blois, where he held a kind of court and kept up a semi-regal state, while Charles sought to propitiate him by heaping favour upon favour on him. "The King of France is acting like a madman," said Philip II., and certainly there was no reasonable explanation of his policy in thus flattering a man who it was known was again plotting to lay violent hands on him. In the month of June 1572, the Admiral had made a solemn entry into Paris, and had incited the Huguenots to an aggressive demonstration, the more irritating to the Catholic population, inasmuch as the day chosen for the event was the feast of Corpus Christi. He went straight to the château in the Bois de Boulogne where the King was then staying. As he entered the room Charles rose and advanced to meet him, folded him in his arms, and made him sit down by his side. "Never in all my reign," said he, "was any one more welcome to my Court."†

Since the death of Condé, the Guises had fallen into disgrace, and the Duke of Anjou, who befriended them, was also out of favour with Charles. Catherine, in spite of all her truckling policy, was once again and for always the object of Huguenot hatred, but, what was of far greater importance to her, she had entirely lost her influence with the King, who now listened to no advice but Coligny's. His primary object was to induce Charles to declare war against Philip, to send an army into the Netherlands, and after subjugating those provinces, to place the Duke of Anjou on the throne. This would have the double

* De Thou, l. lii.

† Cotton MSS. : Galba, C. IV, B. M.

advantage of driving the Catholic Spaniards out of the Low Countries, and of removing the Catholic Duke of Anjou from France. "If," said Coligny to the Duke, "the King does not carry war into the Netherlands he will have it in France, and will not only be exposed to the hatred of Philip but to that of the Huguenots as well." * This threat was the refrain of all his conferences with Charles, and at last he told him that the Huguenots would no longer be fed with fine language; they demanded an answer within the space of four days. Six hundred horse and two thousand foot soldiers were all that they needed to become masters of the Netherlands. At first the King would promise nothing, but preparations for war were made as if he had consented, and a report was spread that he was about to conclude an alliance with the Turks against Spain. Upon this, the Duke of Alva lost no time, and when at length the Huguenot chief, De Genlis, crossed the frontier to join the Prince of Orange on the banks of the Meuse, Don Fabricius of Toledo, Alva's son, assailed and completely routed him.

The Parisians, groaning under the Huguenot tyranny, manifested the most tempestuous joy at this defeat. Banquets and bonfires were held in the streets. All Paris was in a state of delirium at the unexpected prospect of deliverance from the hated yoke. The good news spread like wildfire through the provinces, and the sudden change from the deepest gloom to hope and gladness was more eloquent than any words to describe what the sufferings of the great Catholic majority had been. It was also significant of what the frenzy of their despair would be, should the Huguenots again triumph.

The disappointment of the Duke of Anjou was even greater than Coligny's; he had counted on the crown of the Netherlands. As for Catherine, the Huguenot defeat caused her neither satisfaction nor regret. What to her was the joy or suffering of the nation compared with the paramount importance of her ambition! The King had become a mere tool in Coligny's hands, and his mother's influence over him was a thing of the past. To regain that lost power seemed to her the one all-sufficient reason for throwing herself definitely for once on the side opposed to the Huguenots. If Coligny were

* Letter of Petrucci, July 16, 1572. Paris.

allowed to live, his voice would henceforth be the only authoritative voice in France, and to silence it for ever was her one chance of regaining her former ascendancy over her son's mind.

At a secret council held at Monceau she confided to a few devoted friends the fact that a struggle to the death had begun between herself and the Admiral, and that she had resolved on his undoing. The blow was to be struck to the sound of marriage bells and under cover of the festivities following the union of the King of Navarre with Margaret of Valois. But even then it was to appear as if the Guises were responsible alone for the deed, lest it should become necessary for Catherine again to treat with the Huguenots. The Venetian ambassador was not however deceived by these carefully prepared appearances, and he exculpated the Guises from any share in the plot. "All this business," he wrote to the Doge, "has been the work of the Queen Mother from the beginning to the end, combined and directed by her; the Duke of Anjou has alone had any share in it."

But Michele, like any other contemporary, could only judge by what he saw of passing events. We have the advantage of seeing the whole canvas of the revolutionary picture unrolled before us, and know the parts each character played in the historical drama. But for Elizabeth and her ambassadors in France, the Huguenots would never have risen to be so dangerous an element in the State; and had it not been for the inhuman cruelties which they practised, Catherine's deed of blood would probably have been limited to one victim.

Coligny's answer to the public rejoicing over his defeat, was to place thirty pieces of artillery on the Place de Grève. Written orders had been sent to "those of the religion" to be in readiness, and from thirty to forty thousand armed men were awaiting his signal.* Nothing but the interminable feasting and revelry kept the bomb from exploding. Paris was swarming with adventurers of every kind, ready to increase and swell the confusion whenever the music should cease and the fighting begin. At the sight of the Huguenot cannon, intended to strike terror into their hearts, the Parisians were goaded to madness. It was three days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

J. M. STONE.

* "Corr. de Hainaut," vol. ix. Brussels, Arch.

ART. VII.—LORD MAR'S HOME RULE BILL.

THE Earl of Mar, who headed the Rebellion of 1715, is generally regarded by historians as having been a man of slender military capacity though of considerable parts as a statesman. Mr. Lockhart, the author of the famous *Memoirs*, who disliked and distrusted Mar, is unable to withhold from him the credit of having conducted the Pretender's affairs during the time he was in his service, more easily and successfully than any of the Prince's subsequent favourites. Lord Mahon says of him in his *History*: "He was a man of great activity, judgment, and address, but no knowledge of war; at home in court cabals, but, as we shall afterwards find, unskilful and helpless in a camp." "The Earl of Mar," says Lord John Russell in his *Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe*, "was a man of quick talents, interested disposition, restless in his temper, inordinate in his ambition." "A man," says Marshall Berwick, writing of the events of 1715, "may have a great deal of understanding, a great deal of personal bravery, and be a very able Minister without having the talents requisite for an enterprise of this nature. It is certain that Mar had them not, and we must not therefore wonder that he did not succeed."

When the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 was at an end, Mar accompanied the Pretender to France, where, upon the dismissal of Bolingbroke, he was made chief minister or chief secretary to Prince James in the room of the former. Mar enjoyed the favour of the Pretender for some years; at last, however, he was driven from office (1724) by Bishop Atterbury and Hay, afterwards titular Earl of Inverness. It will doubtless be recollected that the former had been compelled to leave England in 1721 on account of a Jacobite conspiracy in which he and other prominent personages this side the English Channel were involved. Atterbury attributed his banishment to Mar, who, he alleged, had sold information to the British Government which directly incriminated him. The whole transaction, however which led to the expulsion of Atterbury is involved in so much mystery that it is quite impossible to say at this distance of time whether or no the bishop had adequate grounds for his

suspicions. As against the suspicions entertained by the bishop with regard to Lord Mar, it is, however, but just to mention the fact that Atterbury was only found guilty after a protracted trial, and after the most determined efforts on the part of the prosecution to secure a verdict in favour of the Hanoverian Government had been made by the law officers of the Crown—a circumstance which would hardly have been allowed to happen had Mar and the Government conspired together to set a trap for the bishop.

However that may be, Atterbury, from the circumstance of his banishment, conceived a lasting resentment against Mar. And when the latter presented to the Regent of France in 1723 a scheme by which Scotland and Ireland were to be made independent of England, and to a certain extent dependent on France, the bishop, who hated Mar and the Scots almost as much as he did the Irish, contrived to procure a copy of the Memorial, and sent it to England to be printed. The publication and distribution of the Memorial in Jacobite circles in England, besides raising a great storm of indignation against Mar, served the sinister purposes of Atterbury as well by forcing in a measure the Pretender's hand, who, to save himself from the odium of having extended his approbation to a scheme so derogatory to England, dismissed his Minister from office. The conduct of the Pretender with regard to this affair of Mar's Memorial is particularly reprehensible, inasmuch as he had previously given his consent and approbation to an identical scheme, likewise the work of Mar's hand, by which Scotland and Ireland were to be restored to their ancient rights and liberties, and made independent of England. This previous scheme or Memorial, which relates to Scotland, I am about to publish elsewhere. What, however, I have called "Lord Mar's Home Rule Bill," I propose, with the reader's permission, to reproduce in this place, from the original MS. now temporarily in my possession:—

CONSIDERATIONS AND PROPOSALLS FOR IRLAND ON A RESTORATION.

July 1722.

1. The Parl. and Kingdome of Irland to be declared in the most solemne and authentick maner free and independant of all but the King himself and his lawfull heirs and successors, and Poinings Act etc. to be anuled.

2. The Parl. to consist as now of an House of Lords and another of Comoners, and all acts and laus to be past by the Parl. of Irland only, with the consent of the King or his Ld. Livetenant, without being revised by the Council of England and no sentance or order of either or both Houses of the English Parl. to be of any force in Irland.

3. A new Parl. to be called every seven years and to meet once in two years at least.

4. No Peer of England to be capable of being a peer of Irland unless he renounce his English Peerage.

5. All the officers of state and civill goverment to be named by the king out of lists to be recomended by Parl. of three for each office and these to hold their places no longer than seven years, unless recomended again by Parl.

6. The Judges and Bishops to be named and hold their places in the same maner as is proposed for Scotland (that is to say they are to be named by the King out of lists prepared by Parliament which, in the case of the Bishops, must have been previously prepared by the clergy themselves).

7. Not to be in the King's power to make peace or war for the kingdome of Irland but by the consent of Parl.

8. The Militia to be regulated and esteablished by the King and Parl. conforme to the way proposed for Scotland (that is to say all the common people are to be enroled as members, and commanders to be appointed over them to hold their commissions of the King, by and with the consent of Parliament).

9. The Esteablished Church of Irland and its goverment to be as now by Bishops, Arch Bishops, &c., but liberty of contience to be allow'd to all to worshipec God in their own way, and no exclusion to be on any one, on account of religion, from Parl. or any publick employment.

10. A comission to be appointed by King and Parl. for regulating the affair of the fforfitours, so that all since the Revolution may be restored to their ancient properties, on such conditions as the Parl. shall by an Act appoint.

11. The trade of the kingdome to be regulated and esteablished as the Parl. shall judge fit.

12. A good corespondance to be esteablished betwixt Irland and Scotland and ways taken to encourage it, as giving Scotsmen the same priviledges in Irland as Irishmen shall have in Scotland, and the trade betwixt the two countrys to be regulated for the advantage of both.

13. An agreement to be made betuixt the king and the kings of france and spain for each of those kings entertaining in their service 5000 Irish troops, as is proposed betwixt Scotland and france.

14. Ministers or Envoys from the king on the part of Irland to be kept at fforeign courts and recomended to the King by the Parl. of Irland as is proposed for Scotland.

15. Twelve thousand regular troops to be kept always on foot in Irland.

16. A competent navie or fleet to be always entertained for protecting the trade of the kingdome, &c.

17. Tilage to be encouraged for the better peopleing the country, and sheep waks or pastur to be restricted by allowing only a certain and reasonable number of sheep to each tennant or farmer conforme to the extent of his grounds.

18. The Linnen Manufactur to be regulated as found most for the interest of the country, and the propogating of hemp (for which a great part of the kingdome is exceeding proper) and the manufacturs of sail cloath and cordage to be encouraged.

To attempt any elaborate criticism of this far-reaching scheme of Home Rule would be practically to raise a discussion on the principle of Home Rule, a step which I am neither at liberty nor willing to take in this place. I may perhaps, however, be permitted to offer a few remarks on those articles of the memorial which in my opinion are most deserving of notice.

Article 9, which deals with the "Esteablished Church" and liberty of "contience" reflects, it seems to me, great credit on its author. At a time when comparatively few men in Ireland were at liberty to worship God as they desired, and the Church of the bulk of the people was subjected to the most cruel and vexatious restrictions, it is indeed a pleasure to encounter a British statesman who, while stipulating for the continuance of the "Esteablished Church," is yet wise enough and humane enough to impress on his King the duty and necessity of allowing perfect liberty of conscience to all. "And," to quote the notable words of the article itself, "*no exclusion to be on any one, on account of religion, from Parl. or any publick emploiment.*" With respect to article 12, Lord Mar was always particularly anxious that the Scots and Irish nations should be good friends. "They are come," he says in one part of his MS., "of the same stock," and he considered it as but right and proper that a "good correspondence" should be established between two nations which stand in so intimate a degree of blood-relationship to one another. In another part of his MS. he speaks strongly in favour of a federal union between Scotland and Ireland.

Article 13 requires a little explanation, as it really refers to provision in his Home Rule Scheme for Scotland, whereby a certain number of Scots troops (5 or 10 thousand in all)

were to be constantly entertained in the service of the French king. Mar's idea was to unite Scotland, Ireland, and, to all military intents and purposes, France, together in one powerful armed confederacy so as to enable the King of Great Britain and Ireland, in the event of his being so unfortunate as to quarrel with his *English subjects* alone, to nip rebellion in the bud, as it were, by employing against them the combined standing armies of both Scotland and Ireland, as well as the Scots and Irish troops in the service of France. As Spain was Ireland's ancient friend and ally, he thought it but just that the latter country should provide 5000 Irish troops for the Spanish service as well, not forgetting of course that the natural result of this arrangement would be to incline the balance still more against the English people and Parliament.

Articles 16, 17, 18 bear testimony to their author's sincerity and good intentions, though I am afraid that 17 and 18 contain some shocking economic heresies. The idea of "regulating" the "linnen manufactur" and of allowing only a certain number of sheep to each farmer "conforme to the extent of his grounds" is no doubt just what might have been expected in an age and from one of a race of statesmen that looked habitually to Parliament and the laws (which is precisely what the Socialists are doing at the present day) to "regulate" the industries of the nation, from the highest and most important down to the smallest and most insignificant particulars.

STUART ERSKINE.

ART. VIII.—THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND THE SEE OF PETER.*

THE Anglican appeal to antiquity has been very vigorously urged by some recent writers, and the Primitive Saints have been summoned to bear witness against the See of Rome. For this reason, Father Rivington's new work on the "Primitive Church and the See of Peter" is doubly welcome. As the title itself suggests, it is in some sense a counterblast to Mr. Puller's "Primitive Saints and the See of Rome." But it is by no means a mere answer to that able Anglican advocate. As a critic, Father Rivington has already dealt with Mr. Puller in the pages of this REVIEW. In the work before us, he has occasion to correct several mistakes of the same writer and other eminent Anglicans, notably Canon Bright and Dr. Salmon. But, as far as possible, this merely controversial matter subsides into footnotes or recedes into appendices. The main body of the book affords an answer of another kind. Instead of mere negative criticism of the doctrine ascribed to the primitive fathers, we are given a luminous exposition of their real teaching. It is a positive answer, like that which the great Cardinal gave when he told the true story of his life, because, as he said himself, "false ideas may be indeed refuted by argument, but by true ideas alone are they expelled." This is, indeed, the real meaning of Father Rivington's valuable work. To see this, we have only to put aside all incidental references to the difficulties and objections of our opponents, and all introductory passages and explanatory annotations, and look at what then remains. It is a series of luminous facts, that speak for themselves and are rightly left to tell their own tale. Let us set them down here in our author's own order: St. Clement's magisterial letter to the Corinthians, the testimony of St. Irenæus, St. Victor's display of world-wide authority, St. Stephen's judicial action in hearing appeals and his

* "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," by the Rev. Luke Rivington, B.A., Magdalen College, Oxford. With an Introduction by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

vindication of the true tradition on baptism, St. Cyprian's teaching on the primacy, St. Dionysius of Alexandria writing to Rome for guidance "so that he might not err," and submitting to the authority of the Pope of his name, St. Sylvester sending his legates to Nicæa showing himself, as the Græco-Russian Liturgy has it, "the supreme one of the Sacred Council," St. Julius shielding St. Athanasius, St. Liberius revoking Rimini, St. Damasus defining the divinity of the Holy Spirit, St. Innocent writing the rescripts that finish the cause of the Pelagians, St. Celestine with St. Cyril saving the truth assailed by Nestorius, and, finally, St. Leo speaking at Chalcedon with the voice of Peter. Such are some of the foremost facts that form the main matter of the book. What the author has done is to set them forth clearly and succinctly, with just enough in the way of circumstantial description to throw them well into the light and enable us to feel their full force and meaning.

We take any one by itself, as it stands in Father Rivington's pages, and we see that in this particular action or utterance of one of the early popes, or this witness of the Church receiving his words and accepting his ruling, we have a plain fact in favour of the Papal Primacy. There is considerable difference in the evidence thus afforded, in some cases strong and clear, in others the truth is rather implied or hinted at. Still each one has a real worth of its own. But the force of all is further enhanced, when we take them, as we surely should, together. It is only by an unreasonable isolation that it is possible to miss their meaning and explain them away. The evidence is cumulative, and as such is overwhelming. We feel that there is a wondrous unity in these varying voices from the early Church. The self-same truth is borne in upon us from all sides, from Rome itself, from Gaul and Africa and the East, from the clear note of Clement and the stray words of Stephen to the richer and fuller tones of Celestine and Leo. And besides the fresh force felt in this unison, each individual witness is strengthened and made plainer by the light reflected from the rest. The authoritative action of the earlier popes finds its explanation in the language held by St. Leo or the legates at Ephesus. And this in its turn is borne out and corroborated by the older evidence. Even in the short space

covered by the present volume, we may see the working of the great principle of doctrinal development. The doctrine of the Papal *Magisterium* is set forth more fully at Ephesus and Chalcedon, but its presence is felt from the very first.

In his preface, Father Rivington dwells on the importance of this principle, and speaks of Mr. Puller's repudiation of its necessity as the chief blot in his book. And he appeals to St. Vincent of Lerins as a proof that the theory of development was not unknown in the fifth century. Readers who have the advantage of being familiar with Dr. Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church," will be reminded of a passage in which Mr. Palmer's attack on this "modern theory" is very effectively answered by a quotation from the same saint.* While much of the evidence here put together may be seen in earlier writers on the primacy, there are some points which have been hitherto overlooked, and some records that have only leapt to light in recent years. The valuable epistle of St. Clement with which the volume opens, only found its way into the West in the seventeenth century. So much is sometimes said about Roman fraud and forgery that we may be pardoned for dwelling on the fact that this earliest documentary evidence for Papal authority comes to us entirely through Eastern and English hands. We first find the text of the letter in the famous *Codex Alexandrinus*, the gift of a Greek patriarch to an English king. Some six chapters were missing from this venerable copy, and these have been found and published within the last twenty years by the Greek scholar, Bryennios, now Patriarch of Nicomedia. Let us hear Father Rivington on this important letter—

In the very first document belonging to Christian history, outside the pages of Holy Scripture, the Church of Rome steps to the front in a manner that is suggestive of supreme authority, and that tallies with her whole future attitude towards the rest of the Church. The occupant of the See of Rome comes before us, speaking in the name of his Church, within the lifetime of the Apostle St. John, and settles a disturbance in a region naturally more nearly related to that Apostle than to the Church of Rome. And he comes before us both as in possession of a tradition of divine truth, and as its authoritative exponent to a distant Church. He lays down the law of worship and government for the whole Church as of divine institution (p. 1).

* P. 128, 1st edition.

He magisterially reproves the ringleaders of the disturbances in Corinth for attempting to extrude such successors of the Apostles, and says that "it will be a sin in us" to depose them from their "sacred office." Further on, in a passage only discovered of late, he claims their "obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit" (§ 63), as he had said a little previously, "If any disobey the things spoken by Him through us, let them know that they will involve themselves in transgression and no small peril" (§ 59, p. 2).

Before leaving the subject of St. Clement, Father Rivington devotes some pages to the strange story of the Clementine Romance, and the still stranger use to which it has been put by some Anglican writers, who seek to make it the real origin of the Papal claims.

If the author of the Clementine Romance [says Mr. Puller], had not been an Ebionitish heretic, with an inherited hatred of the memory of St. Paul, the world would never have heard of the chair of Peter. It is strange how, from the very first, the Roman claims have been based upon forgeries ("Primitive Saints," p. 50).

Had this confident assertion been backed by some show of argument, the task of answering it would have been somewhat simpler. But even Dr. Lightfoot, *pace tanti viri*, vouchsafes no reason for a like statement. "I would gladly give this author's proof," says Father Rivington, "but I have been unable to find anything but assertion on this whole subject" (p. 14). Gratuitous assertions, as we all know, may be met in kind; but our author has taken a more generous course. He gives what many will consider convincing proof that the Clementine literature only came to Rome in the third century, too late to do the work assigned to it by the Anglican theory. But some of the light here thrown on the age of the "Recognitions" is not quite so new as he would seem to imply. Good reason for connecting Bardesanes with Elagabalus, and putting the "Recognitions" at least as late as Caracalla, was already given by Gallandius in the last century.

But before dealing with the facts and figures, our author draws attention to the great improbability of the alleged change. Having cited some Anglican admissions as to the honorary primacy and the practical goodness of the Roman Church, he says:

Was, then, the Church of Rome, the leading Church according to all

these writers, so filled with the spirit of lying that she could take the suggestion of a romance in place of her own lists, which we know from Hegesippus she then possessed, whether by oral tradition or in writing? Had she the heart to alter her tale to drop the Apostle in whom she had gloried, and in whom, conjointly with St. Peter, she glories to-day, sending out her bulls in their twin name?—had she, I say, the heart suddenly to change her attitude towards her known and loved founder? Did Tertullian, when he came to Rome, instead of examining the lists, instead of listening to what older men could tell him, take up with an incidental expression in a romance, which *no single writer of that time ever quoted*, so far as our records go, as an authority, and of which they rejected the heretical teaching, according to Dr. Salmon? Could all classes in the Church of Rome agree suddenly on a new platform, and no whisper of the fundamental change find its way outside, or produce the slightest protest against this change in the Church's idea of her own constitution? (p. 16).

From a careful consideration of the available evidence in Eusebius, St. Irenæus and St. Epiphanius, our author gathers that—

Whilst the See of Rome was founded by the two Apostles Peter and Paul, it was also in a special sense the See of Peter, that (ii.) so far as we can glean anything positive from Eusebius about the list of the bishops of Rome, drawn up by Hegesippus in the middle of the second century, it also included a special relationship of St. Peter to the See; and that (iii.) Tertullian, after or during his visit to Rome, wrote as an ascertained fact that St. Clement was ordained by St. Peter, although he does not say that he was immediate successor; that (iv.) the Clementine literature reached Rome after Tertullian had left; and that (v.) in its Western dress it wove into its tale the common tradition of the West to which Tertullian had made allusion (p. 30).

To the passages from Eusebius in which the Popes are numbered from St. Peter alone, it might be well to add the fragment from Hippolytus quoted by the historian at the close of his Fifth Book. In a supplementary note to this chapter, Mr. Rivington mentions an explanation of the popularity of the Clementine literature suggested by Dr. Bigg in the *Studia Biblica*. Some of the statements quoted, however, are more than mere conjecture. We have the authority of the contemporary Hippolytus for the fact that Alcibiades (not Alexander) of Apamæa came to Rome with his new Gospel given by an angel ninety-six miles high, and put forth his teaching on Baptism as an improvement on the lenient line given by St. Callistus.*

* "Philosophum," ix. 13, ed. Miller, p. 292.

After St. Clement's letter, we have a chapter on the well known witness of St. Irenæus in the second century. In meeting the difficulties raised as to the meaning of this passage Father Rivington does not feel it necessary to insist on the rendering of *convenire ad* by "agree with" rather than "have recourse to." And in this we think he is well advised. At the same time, he takes care to add that—

it must be remembered that it is to the Church, not to the City of Rome that this centripetal movement is said to be "of necessity." And it is every *Church* which must resort to the Church of Rome. The following words—"those who are from all sides"—explain, but must not be allowed to explain away, the word Church (p. 34).

And he scouts the notion that the coming together of men from all quarters could be the means of keeping Rome right. "The mere fact of a confluence of streams will not keep the waters sweet: there must be some preservative power in the centre."

These words of sound sense will be enough, we would fairly hope, to satisfy many who have been misled or bewildered by the ingenious glosses of some recent writers. But the matter is so important that it may not be amiss to see what can be done by approaching the question in another way. Let us put aside all the disputed words and phrases, and look simply at the logic of St. Irenæus. What is the scope of the whole passage? The saint is showing how the true tradition comes to us from the Apostles, handed down through those to whom they entrusted the charge of the churches. If, he argues against the heretics, the Apostles taught your hidden mysteries they would have imparted them to those with whom they left the care of the churches. To these, therefore, and to their successors, we must betake ourselves to see whether your teaching is Apostolic. And he boldly says that these apostles taught nothing like the Valentinian dreams. To make good his point he must give a list of all the Bishops appointed by the Apostles, and trace their successors down to his own day. Instead of doing this, however, he contents himself with giving the succession of one single Church, the Church of Rome. This might well seem somewhat incomplete. But the saint says, notwithstanding, that his proof is most full: *et c.*

plenissima hæc ostensio. How can it be full when only one Church is taken, unless that Church has the right to speak for all? The argument would fall through if this were not the case, for one of the other churches might have handed down a traditionary mystery somehow neglected here. Accordingly the saint, before giving his list of Popes, has taken pains to show that Rome is enough, as she is the centre and standard of all. It cannot be that he is resting this pre-eminence on the fact that Christians from other churches flock to Rome, for he has not given the succession of other churches and can hardly appeal to their authority. And throughout the whole passage the appeal is clearly to accredited teachers who come from the Apostles in unbroken succession. But this was scarcely the position of those who happened to be drawn to the capital in the train of the court or the tide of trade. Whatever *convenire* may mean here, in his next chapter the saint certainly does speak of going, or having recourse, to the Apostolic Churches, but it is to learn of them not to teach them.*

These greater churches were so many centres radiating light to the lesser sees around them, thus keeping them safe in the true tradition. Hence, to know the faith of a whole province, it would be enough to find the teaching of the central see from which its churches depended. But Rome, and this is the saint's point here, is something more than the others, it is the common centre wherein the faithful from all parts of the habitable world are kept in the true tradition. This is clearly the drift of the argument, even if we take *principalitas* to mean the civil position of the city, and *convenire* the natural trend of trade. In any case there *was* this concourse to the capital, with the result that the most distant lands learnt what was taught in Rome. St. Leo, in a well-known passage, gives this as a reason why St. Peter went there. But when once we see that St. Irenæus is arguing from the pre-eminent position of the Church, it is surely more natural to take *potior principalitas* as referring to the spiritual capital. Indeed, it is the very phrase that the whole context suggests.

* Cf. Tertullian, "De Praescript. Haereticorum," c. 36, "S. Irenaeus Advers. Haeres." lib. iii. c. 4, Möhler, "Patrologie," p. 353.

The Apostolic sees are the chief or principal churches, but Rome has a higher origin and a more powerful sway.*

St. Irenæus is not treating directly of the Papal prerogative, but of Apostolic tradition. And he says no more than the argument in hand requires. Nevertheless, the whole Vatican definition is implied in this classic passage. It only needs to be unfolded by that theological development, for which this saint himself is the earliest authority.†

From St. Irenæus, Father Rivington passes on to the vigorous action of St. Victor in the Easter controversy. It was surely a striking display of the Papal power in that early age. Finding that certain churches of Asia refused to adopt the Paschal practice agreed on by the rest, the Pope decided or threatened to cut them off from the common unity, and issued an edict declaring them altogether cut off. This, as our author considers, was probably conditional on their conduct at the following Easter. Owing to the vigorous protests of some Eastern Bishops, and still more to the timely mediation of St. Irenæus, the threatened separation was avoided. But this opposition only serves to show the Papal power more plainly.

Not a hint is given all round [says our author] that any one of the churches disputed St. Victor's authority. Had any other portion of the Church talked of cutting off whole churches from the common unity, it would only have made itself ridiculous. But when the threat comes from Rome the whole Church is astir; and there is one thing that no one says—neither St. Irenæus nor the rest of the Bishops said, It is ridiculous you have no such authority; but they exhort, and protest, and warn and entreat him not to do so (p. 43).

In correcting Mr. Puller's account of the matter, our author points out that he has inverted the words of Eusebius in summing up the Pope's proceedings, as if St. Victor had first declared the Asiatics cut off from Rome and then tried to sever them from the common unity. But it is only fair to Mr. Puller to say that he has previously given the passage

* Cf. St. Cyprian's "*Ecclesia principalis*," and the "*auctoritate quoque optiore aeterni urbis episcopi*" of Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 7.

† See his words in the Preface to the First Book: "*Ea quae tibi cum dilectione scripta sunt, cum dilectione percipies, et ipse augeas ea penes te, ut magis idoneus quam nos, quasi semen et initia accipiens a nobis.*"

from Eusebius in full, so that his readers can see for themselves. And though he is surely mistaken in distinguishing between the severance from Roman communion and from the common unity, he is not without support in this.* Father Rivington does well to confirm his reading of the Pope's magisterial action by a striking passage from Professor Harnack. Readers of this REVIEW will remember the good service this eminent Protestant scholar has done to the memory of St. Victor by vindicating his claim to the authorship of the pseudo-Cyprianic treatise *De Aleatoribus*.† To the witness of Harnack, we might add the emphatic pronouncement of Schwegler, a distinguished writer of the Tübingen critical school, that in Victor's episcopate "all the factors of the Papacy are present."‡

As might be expected, St Cyprian fills a large place in Father Rivington's volume. While one chapter was enough for each of the foregoing subjects, no less than four are devoted to the twofold task of elucidating St. Cyprian's evidence, and meeting the difficulties arising from his mistaken action. Both are admirably done. On the one hand, the author brings out the full force of such significant passages as that in which the saint complains that the Novatians "dare to set sail and to carry letters from schismatic and profane persons *to the chair of Peter*, and to the principal [or ruling] Church, whence episcopal unity has taken its rise."§ These words, by the way, throw a strong light on the saint's teaching elsewhere on the relation of St. Peter to the episcopate, and confirm the Catholic interpretation maintained by our author. On the Anglican hypothesis that St. Peter was merely a type of the unity of each individual diocese, there would be no meaning in this reference to Rome as the place "whence episcopal unity has taken its rise."

For the controversy on Baptism, Father Rivington makes good use of St. Augustine's evidence; and reminds us that our knowledge of the facts is far from being complete.

* Cf. Dom Massuet, Op. S., Irenaei, Pars ii., Diss. ii., n. 22.

† See Father Ryder's able article on this subject, DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1889.

‡ "Nachapostolisch. Zeitalter, ii., s. 214.

§ Epist. lix., Oxford, and ed. Hartel; lv. ed. Benedict.

St. Cyprian, he says, fought against a particular exercise of authority, not the authority in principle; but for aught we know he ended by recognising the security of its shelter even in this matter. His can hardly be a test case, because history deserts us at the critical point (p. 115).

The chapter ends with an effective passage from Monsignor Freppel, which sums up the matter "from a controversial point of view." May we refer our readers to another writer well worthy the attention of all whose minds are exercised by the Cyprianic question? The stress of controversial strife has given such painful prominence to this portion of the saint's career, that our theologians are somewhat apt to dwell on it at disproportionate length, and adopt a too apologetic or critical tone in speaking of the great African Father. For this reason it is refreshing to turn from the dispute to those glowing pages in which this "Ignatius of the West" is pictured for us by Möhler's master hand. Here, the difficulties are touched on in passing and fall into their proper place, powerless to mar the beauty of the whole, lost in the light of his faith and the fire of his burning zeal.*

The ninth chapter, which completes and sums up the evidence of the first period (A.D. 96-300), is one of the best in the book. Here the author dwells on the palmary instance of Papal authority afforded by Pope St. Dionysius when he reviewed the teaching of his great namesake of Alexandria, and the Patriarch of the second see clearly recognised the justice of his claim. Nor was this all. As Father Rivington points out, St. Athanasius takes the authoritative utterance of this Pope as evidence that the error afterwards revived by Arius was already "long since anathematised by all."† A somewhat sweeping conclusion to draw from the witness of one Bishop; but, for St. Athanasius, as for St. Irenæus before him, the faith of Rome was the faith of all. As a fitting pendant to this witness from Alexandria, we have Aurelian's reference of the Antiochene dispute to the Bishops of Italy. This, as our author observes, cannot be set aside as a mere instance of imperial centralisation, for the heathen emperor

* "Patrologie," pp. 809-93. "Nur ein von vornherhin befangenes Urtheil konnte jenes vorübergehende beiderseits entschuld bare Missverhältniss zum Nachtheil des kirchlichen Primates auszubeuten, sich versucht und gedrungen fühlen," p. 870.

† De Sententia Dionysii.

would not have sought to appease the Bishops by an award that was contrary to their own ideas. The meaning of these two instances is made more plain when we remember the position held by these sees in the primitive hierarchy. As Father Rivington says in introducing this subject :

The Church, then, was not as some seem to imagine, all but invertebrate in the third century, but was already highly organised. There was no such thing as episcopal independence. The two commanding sees of Antioch and Alexandria with their immense provinces of subordinate sees, as soon as they come into the full light of history, appear in a relationship of subordination to Rome (p. 121).

This closes the evidence of the third century. But before taking leave of this period, the author stops to consider a recent attempt to set aside the witness of the Popes themselves.

Exaggerated claims in favour of the papacy [says Mr. Puller] when they occur in the writings of popes or of other persons living, so to speak, in a papal atmosphere, and when they stand in marked contrast with the general teaching of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, cannot be quoted, at any rate controversially, on the papal side. We regard them as the proofs of papal ambition. In connection with this subject, it is surely permissible to refer in all reverence to our Lord's own words : "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true" (St. John v. 31).*

In his answer to this argument, Father Rivington is seen at his best. Having explained the meaning of the words cited from the Gospel, he adds :

Our Lord, therefore, rested His claim to their acceptance on two grounds, His own witness and that of the Baptist, the two together satisfying the formal requirements of their law. To His own it was enough that He "spake with authority" in a way that none had ever done, touching chords of their hearts which no power had been able thus to sweep with the hand of a master, proclaiming Himself the real author of their inmost being. St. Peter, when our Lord appealed to the twelve as to whether they would leave Him, replied at once, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." There was a richness, a fulness, in His teaching that met the imperious needs of their souls as no other teaching ever had. To them it was a felt truth that, as our Lord afterwards said, "Although I give testimony of myself, my testimony is true" (St. John viii. 14). Now the Church is the extension of the Incarnation, and as our Lord was in the world, so is she. The same

* "Primitive," SS., p. 97, n. 2.

feature that strikes us in the teaching of our Lord meets us in the teaching of His Church. She speaks with the tone of authority; she bears witness of herself. And as there is no logical alternative between considering that either our Lord (may He forgive the words) uttered blasphemy when He bore the witness that He did to Himself, or that He was what He said He was, literally and fully Almighty God, so is it with His Church, and so is it with those who represent His Church from age to age (p. 128).

It may seem somewhat rash to add anything to the words we have quoted. But we are tempted to dwell on the fact that the Popes only witness for their office. Certainly the testimony they gave was not for their own interest or advantage, but laid on their own shoulders a double burden in days of great danger. On the objector's theory, the early Popes were surely the worst offenders for they must have opened the path of ambition. But these, as Father Rivington reminds us, were, with scarce an exception, saints and martyrs.

The objection, we might add, has obviously a wider application. These writers who make the Papacy the outcome of ambition, have happily a truer idea of the episcopal office, which they have learnt at the feet of the primitive saints. But does it never occur to our friends that these holy Fathers were Bishops themselves? Why is the witness of St. Ignatius or St. Cyprian to the sublime character of their own office less open to objection than that of the Popes? Must we put them out of court and take our ideas of the episcopate entirely from simple priests, like St. Jerome?

After showing that the testimony of the Popes is the unvarying voice of a long line of holy Bishops, which finds an echo in the Church they rule, Father Rivington has a word to say on the resistance occasionally offered to their power. There is no need to linger on this point, for taken at its worst the resistance is outweighed by the general submission. Only a few acts of the early Popes were opposed and, as it proved, opposed in vain. It was the view of St. Victor that triumphed in the end; and the judgment of St. Stephen prevailed over that of St. Cyprian. And as the author tells us, the resistance offered is rather a proof of the authority than otherwise. Some critics show a disposition to treat this as a paradox. But surely there is such a thing as resistance that does imply a recognition of the authority opposed. If an imperial government interferes

in some subject colony and reverses the action of its local authorities, the latter may, rightly or wrongly, protest against this. They may urge that there was no ground for the intervention, that the original judgment was right, or that the central government had been misled. But if the interference came from a foreign state or from some sister colony, a similar protest would surely be inadequate. Then, the only answer would be an indignant denial of any right to intervene. To discuss the case on its merits would be a fatal admission. And if some resistance thus implies a recognition of the authority resisted, all authority implies possible resistance. The supremacy and infallibility of the Popes would not save them from occasional opposition even from good though mistaken men. And the fact of such opposition arising is, therefore, no argument against the Papal Primacy.

We have dwelt at some length on the first part of Father Rivington's book, and we must therefore touch more lightly and briefly on the two succeeding sections. There is less reason to regret this, as much that has been said of the first period will apply to the work as a whole. In the second period, A.D. 300-384, the author deals with the Donatists and the Council of Arles, and the two General Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople. Here, again, the Papal Primacy is plainly shown in the authoritative actions of the saintly Popes Sylvester, Julius, Liberius and Damasus; and in the witness of the great Greek Fathers, St. Athanasius and St. Basil. At the same time, such disputed points as the Sardican Canons, the Meletian Schism, and the Third Canon of Constantinople, are clearly and admirably treated. A chapter is also devoted to explaining the true meaning of Gratian's imperial rescript.

Under the third period, A.D. 400-452, we have a valuable account of the relations of the African Church with Rome; and an instructive history of the Council of Ephesus, which is already familiar to readers of this REVIEW.* The argument of the whole book culminates in the witness of St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon to the Roman Primacy. Excellent throughout from first to last, Father Rivington's work is singularly happy in the opportunity of its ending. The

* See the April and July numbers for 1892.

centuries that follow bring further evidence for the Primacy, and they too have their dark places on which some light might be thrown by the same able hand. And, we may add, our gratitude so far partakes of the proverbial sense of favours to come that we look forward to seeing them treated in similar fashion. But the present work is whole in itself, *teres atque rotundus*. Where, indeed, could it finish more fitly than with the story of the Council where Peter spoke by the mouth of Leo? The evidence afforded by the Council of Chalcedon is more generally known than that of the earlier period. But many are far from appreciating its full force; and the subject, moreover, is not without its difficulties. Hence, as Father Rivington says, there was need of a more complete treatment of its history than anything extant in English. His own careful account of that history, besides its intrinsic worth, has the advantage of coming as a timely answer to some recent Anglican objections.

In addition to its more solid merits, Father Rivington's book is eminently readable. The serious train of reasoning is relieved by the interest of the narrative, and brightened by the graphic pictures of some of the early councils of the Church. Quotations and references to the ancient writers are naturally numerous, but the book is not overloaded. Great care has been taken to ensure accuracy, and works of doubtful authenticity are studiously avoided. Only once do we miss the author's wonted caution. This is when he cites the *De Sacramentis* as evidence for the opinion of St. Ambrose. That work is doubtless a valuable monument of antiquity, not far removed from the age of the saint whose name it bears. But there are reasons for assigning it to another hand. Elsewhere, we are told that St. Victor "was the first, according to Eusebius, to excommunicate the forerunner of Arius—viz., Theodotus, 'the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, the first one that asserted that Christ was a mere man'" (p. 133). But the words from Eusebius (v. 28) are in a quotation from Hippolytus, and the "God-denying apostasy" is the heresy of Artemon. These slips, however, are merely minor matters, and may be cited as the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

The force of Father Rivington's reasoning is felt all the more, because he never strains an argument or presses it too

far. If in some instances he inclines to hold a view that is open to question—*e.g.*, on the Sardican Canons, he is careful to make his argument independent of it.

A pleasing feature in the book is the author's unfailing courtesy to his opponents. He speaks of them as "our Anglican friends," and one feels that with him this is no mere fashion of speech. There is happily no trace of those hasty charges of dishonesty and that needless asperity of tone that stain so many controversial writings, both Anglican and Catholic. The work is pleasing in style and forcible in its reasoning; but there is a far higher charm in the spirit of charity and living faith that animates the whole. Looking at the learned labour of which its pages bear so many tokens, we might say that the author shows a mastery of his subject. But it would be nearer the mark to say that the truth he teaches has mastered him. We feel as we read him, that here is no disputant aiming at a dialectic victory, no pleader making out a case. It is simply one who is full of the truth he has found, and seeks to impart to others the light that has opened on his own sight. For this reason he fitly finishes, not in a strain of triumph or a burst of rhetoric, but with the echo of simple earnest words from Père Gratry's dying lips, and with the old Oxford motto that wakens memories of the past and hope for the future.

"It is with the prayer that some may perceive the error of opposing the dogma of Papal Supremacy and follow the example of this 'noble and truth-loving priest,' as Canon Bright calls him, that this work has been written. *Dominus illuminatio mea*" (p. [460]).

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. IX.—MARLBOROUGH.

The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, to the Accession of Queen Anne. By GENERAL VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P.
London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1894.

THE most successful general of the reign of Queen Victoria enters the literary arena as the author of a life of the successful general whose victories shed a lustre upon the reign of Queen Anne. The two volumes which Lord Wolseley, in the scanty leisure of his busy career, has found time to write bring down the story of Marlborough to the date of the death of William III. Thus the most important part of Marlborough's life as Captain-General has not been touched, but these two volumes excite hopes that the work will soon be completed, for it is as a military historian that Lord Wolseley excels. In dealing with the early campaigns in which Churchill served in subordinate positions the author has given a most lucid narrative of the warlike operations with valuable comments upon and criticisms of the strategy displayed, which will make this work a text-book henceforth in every military library. Even to the general reader Lord Wolseley's pages in which he treats these professional topics are full of interest. For instance, it is with quite dramatic skill that Lord Wolseley tells once more the story of the battle of Sedgmoor, shows how Feversham's negligence in the Royal camp invited a surprise, how nearly the night attack by Monmouth was successful, despite the gallantry of Churchill, and that if the peasant guide had only thought of mentioning to Monmouth the existence of the wet ditch across the moor, the whole course of English history would have been changed and a Scottish Duke of Buccleugh, instead of the German House of Hanover, would now reign over Britain.

But the military portion of the work, although excellent, is not the portion to which a Catholic reader turns. The social life of the great Duke and of his contemporaries is sketched with much skill and research, and the author gives much space to the politics of that troublous time. Indeed the task which

Lord Wolseley has set himself is to cleanse the reputation of Marlborough from the aspersions which many generations of writers have cast upon his fair fame. It is at least a courageous attempt on the part of Lord Wolseley, and by its audacity it may extort our admiration, even if it does not convince our judgment.

John Churchill was born in 1650, the year after the death of Charles I. His father was a Cavalier, who had fallen into poverty because of his adherence to the Royalist cause and had chosen as his motto the words *Faithful though unfortunate*, which, in their Spanish form *Fiel pero desdichado*, are still the motto of the Ducal House of Marlborough. Few men live up to their mottoes, but, surely, if some soothsayer had shown to Winston Churchill the crooked career of his eldest son John, the hapless Cavalier would not have selected those words for his motto. Axminster in Devonshire was the birthplace of John Churchill and of the other children of the impoverished Cavalier in those dark days. A country seat near Axminster called Ash House had been ruined in the civil war, but sufficient was standing to afford an asylum and shelter. Portion of Ash House is now a farmhouse. Lord Wolseley describes the spot and laments that the old private chapel in which John Churchill was baptized is now degraded as a storeroom for apples and a cider press. In the orchards and lanes about Axminster John Churchill spent the ten years of his childhood, and it must have been an advantage to Brigadier-General Churchill, when harassing Monmouth's rear in 1685, or escaping by night to the camp of the Prince of Orange in 1688, that he was upon ground familiar to him from infancy.

At the Restoration in 1660 the fortunes of the Churchill family improved. The father obtained knighthood and an office which brought in an income and so gave the family bread to eat. The eldest daughter Arabella in 1664 became maid in the household of the Duchess of York, and John was sent to St. Paul's School in the City of London. That school was closed in 1665, because of the Plague, and Sir Winston Churchill then obtained a post for his son John as one of the pages of the Duke of York. Two years later, in 1667, young Churchill was appointed ensign in the Guards, and it is an ominous prelude to his whole career that the

vacancy to which John Churchill was gazetted had been caused by the dismissal as a Papist of John Howard, during the popular outcry that the Catholics had caused the Great Fire of 1666. By this time Arabella Churchill had become the mistress of the Duke of York and was bearing him children, of whom the best known is the Duke of Berwick, the victor of Almanza. No amount of partiality on the part of any biographer can do away with these plain facts that Sir Winston Churchill permitted his daughter to remain in the household of the Duke of York as his mistress and permitted his son to accept advancement at the Duke's hands. However, the lad was not a mere holiday soldier. He was at Tangiers in his nineteenth year and saw service there. It is to be wished that Lord Wolseley had told us more of his views about Tangiers, for the topic has much interest. It came to the English crown with Bombay as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza in 1661, and for some years was held by an English garrison. Bombay remains and calls itself *Urbs Prima in Indis*. Tangiers was relinquished, and the only trace left of the English occupation is that the British soldier even to the present day scorns to distinguish amidst the various Asiatic races and calls them all Moors, whether Hindu or Mussulman. Perhaps if Tangiers had also been handed over to that company of merchants trading from Leadenhall Street it might now rival Bombay.

When Churchill returned to London from Tangiers his name came into notoriety and was even mentioned in the gossiping despatches of the French Ambassador as the lover of the Duchess of Cleveland, one of the mistresses of Charles II. Because of this he fell into disfavour with the King, and had to absent himself from court, but the Duchess recompensed him with a gift of £4500, and with this sum the prudent youth purchased an annuity.

In 1672 the French and English kings agreed to declare war together against Holland. The pretext set forth by Charles II. was the Dutch refusal to dip their flags to every English man-of-war in the narrow seas, and it is curious to note that the narrow seas covered by this claim were not only the Straits of Dover but the sea from Cape Finisterre to the Norwegian coast. Churchill fought on board ship at the naval battle of Southwold and was promoted to be captain. Crossing over to

Holland in 1673 he greatly distinguished himself by his bravery at the siege of Maestricht and was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the following year, 1674, he was made colonel of the Royal English Regiment in the service of the French king, and saw three campaigns under Marshal Turenne. In 1677 he became colonel in the English army and married Sarah Jennings, a maid of honour, the well-known Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. One of the most noticeable features in Churchill's character as drawn by Lord Wolseley is his attachment to his termagant wife. Many of his letters are given in full, and they breathe a tender love even twenty-five years after their marriage. There was constant occasion to write these letters, for Churchill was often absent from his wife's side when in attendance on the Duke of York at Brussels, Edinburgh, and elsewhere. It is curious to note that the Duke of York took thirty-eight days to march from London to Edinburgh, and that Churchill writes to his wife to send waxlights from London as there were none to be had in Edinburgh. In 1685, when the Duke of York came to the throne, Churchill got a colonelcy of Life Guards, and was raised to the peerage.

When the Royal troops took the field in the western counties to repel Monmouth's invasion, Lord Churchill served under Lord Feversham with the rank of Brigadier-General. He did good work in following up with his horse the rear of Monmouth's advancing column, and when Monmouth's night attack was delivered on the Royal army at Sedgmoor, it was Churchill who got the King's troops into some sort of order to resist the onslaught. But he was one of the noblemen who entered into correspondence with the Prince of Orange and invited his armed intervention, even before the birth of the Prince of Wales had made the Princess of Orange only heiress presumptive of King James II. In the Royal camp at Salisbury Churchill was Brigadier with a command of 5000 men. Lord Wolseley says plainly that if Churchill had been loyal the invasion of the Prince of Orange must have failed. However, he deserted and went over to the enemy's camp, and in the subsequent political manœuvres he supported the Prince of Orange in his successful efforts to obtain the British crown. It is not to be wondered at that William III. distrusted the

man. Lord Wolseley says that the cause of William's dislike was the attachment of Lord and Lady Churchill to the Princess Anne, but, whatever may have been the cause, William rewarded Churchill with the empty title of Earl of Marlborough, and selected Dutch generals to command his armies. When matters were not going well in Ireland under these Dutch generals, Marlborough saw his opportunity, and persuaded Queen Mary's Council to permit him to undertake an expedition against Cork and Kinsale, which were still held for King James. In this expedition he was completely successful, and the description of the taking of Cork is one of the ablest portions of Lord Wolseley's book. Although he thus accepted office under William III., Marlborough carried on a correspondence with James II. and supplied him with information of William's plans. The worst instance was his giving information of the contemplated attack on Brest in which Tollemache lost his life. Whether William suspected this treason or whether because of the quarrels between the court and Princess Anne, Marlborough was dismissed from office, and for a few days, when a French invasion was imminent, he was even imprisoned in the Tower. After the death of Queen Mary he was restored to William's council; but these volumes end at the accession of Queen Anne, and do not enter upon Marlborough's career as Generalissimo.

Such was John Churchill in youth and in middle age, and it must be admitted that there is ample scope for an apologetic biographer. It is impossible to deny the blots in his escutcheon, but Lord Wolseley strives to palliate them, and adopts the tone of an advocate addressing the Court in mitigation of punishment. After the Restoration honesty and chastity were rare at Whitehall. John Churchill was at an age when most boys are at school. When a man has done good service to the State, why need we pry into his youthful amours? Public opinion in those days did not condemn the relatives of a Prince's mistress who rose by her influence. So says Lord Wolseley. It is an unsavoury subject, and as the father, Sir Winston Churchill, did not object, perhaps we must not expect too high a standard from the son, but we would fain hope that the Churchill family was not a fair sample of the Cavalier families after the Restoration. Even in the Anglican Church of that

day there must have been seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to the Baal of vice. When Brigadier-General Churchill, in 1685, served in Somersetshire in the campaign against Monmouth, the pious Ken was Bishop of Bath and Wells. Novelists strive to be realistic, but Thackeray in "The Esmonds," depicted men who turned with horror from infamy such as that of John Churchill. As a soldier himself, Lord Wolseley must have found it hard to write as he has done of Churchill's desertion in 1688 to the enemy against whom he was serving in the field. The line of defence taken is that Churchill's attachment to the Protestant religion was so strong that he felt compelled by his conscience to break his faith as a soldier and to forfeit all the advantages he hoped to receive from King James's favour. The first answer that suggests itself to this contention is that Churchill, in 1685, fought against Monmouth, who posed as the Protestant champion. But, says Lord Wolseley, Churchill was shocked at Judge Jeffreys's cruel assize in the West, and was convinced by James's arbitrary proceedings against the universities and bishops that the King would sooner or later impose the Catholic religion on England by force. In expounding this argument Lord Wolseley has written some curious sentences. He says that Judge Jeffreys was sent against the "peaceable" peasants of the west, although many previous pages had been given to the description of how the whole country-side was ready to join Monmouth in armed rebellion, and how these "peaceable" peasants had almost defeated the royal army at Sedgemoor. We surmise that Brigadier-General Churchill was not impelled to quit King James's service because of Jeffreys's assize more than was Captain Garnet Wolseley impelled to quit Queen Victoria's service because of the number of persons hanged in Bengal with very little trial in 1857. Then in several passages Lord Wolseley writes as if the Church of Rome taught the duty of entire obedience to kings. This is an entire mistake. The Church of Rome teaches that subjects may and ought to resist their rulers in certain circumstances. It was the Anglican Church in the seventeenth century that taught the doctrine of passive obedience. Lord Wolseley writes with such warmth on this topic that he calls James "a King who impiously claimed to rule by Divine right and the grace of God." The words "by

the grace of God" are still used in every proclamation and on every coin, but there is nothing impious in them. It is probable that Lord Wolseley has indicated the source of Churchill's scruples, where he says that King James preferred to have Catholic officers about him. If Churchill saw a prospect of being superseded by Catholic officers that would bring about the change in his loyalty. Even if Lord Wolseley's major premiss be granted and it be conceded that Churchill was actuated by patriotic motives and by fear for the Protestant religion, the minor premiss may still be debated that this did not justify his treachery. It was open to him to resign his post and to cross over to Holland where he could have offered an untarnished sword to the Prince of Orange. Desertion in the field to the enemy is the most grave of military offences, and it is difficult to imagine any circumstances that would justify it. A soldier does not concern himself about the reasons for or the results of a war. That responsibility rests on others. His business is to fight. It is possible that some officers under Lord Wolseley's command in Egypt in 1882 thought the British intervention a mistake, but they fought at Tel-el-Kebir. There is a passage in this book that sets this forth clearly. Writing of Lord Sandwich at the naval battle of Southwold in 1672, Lord Wolseley says :

He seems to have made up his mind to die in the first action, and by the gallant manner of his death to show how cruelly and unjustly he had been suspected. He detested the war with Holland, for he knew it to be an unholy war prosecuted for un-English objects by King Charles and the infamous crew who were his Ministers.

Another point that tells strongly against Lord Wolseley's theory is that two years afterwards Marlborough entered into correspondence with the exiled James II. If his fear of Romanism was so acute, why did he thus intrigue to get back the Catholic King? Lord Wolseley's explanation is that Marlborough did not really wish to see James again at Whitehall, but a restoration was always possible, and Marlborough wished to secure his own head from the block. To make his overtures appear to be true Marlborough sent information, but he took good care to send only such information as had already been sent by somebody else. Lord Wolseley so convinces himself that on page 388 he speaks of Marlborough's conduct

as "upright." It is a matter of opinion ; but "upright" does not seem to be a well-chosen epithet. The explanation may be true, but a more probable explanation is that which Lord Wolseley himself, in an unguarded moment, gives, when he says that William III., by appointing Dutch generals and not sufficiently rewarding Marlborough, drove him into this correspondence with James. By saying this Lord Wolseley practically throws up his brief.

But that is only one of several instances in which Lord Wolseley seems to have forgotten what he had written elsewhere. Probably the cause is given in the preface, where Lord Wolseley says that the book was written at long intervals. There are some passages very offensive to Catholic ears. The Duke of York, after his conversion, practised the Catholic religion, but that fact seems never to be mentioned without a sneer—"priestcraft," "pet priests," "obedient to his confessor." In speaking, at page 216, of Titus Oates's Plot, Lord Wolseley says : "There can be no doubt that there had been a serious conspiracy for the complete extirpation of Protestantism in England." In speaking of the warming-pan fable, Lord Wolseley says that doubtless there were persons about the King who would not have scrupled to introduce a supposititious Prince of Wales. But in compensation for these insults comes the following fine passage :

In Ireland William III. has always been looked upon as a king of strong anti-Roman Catholic tendencies ; but this is an incorrect view of his character. Before the English victory at Aughrim he had with true wisdom and liberality wished to offer to the Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion together with half the church buildings and half their ancient church property. Had this been the practical result of his Irish conquest, of what difficulties it would have relieved the United Kingdom, and what an amount of misery it would have saved the warm-hearted, clever, but easily misled Irish people.

So in several passages Lord Wolseley takes too low a standard of the motives which should animate a soldier, writing as if desire of personal distinction were the most potent excitant, but he makes up for these passages by a fine discourse on page 445 of volume ii. upon "duty" as the watchword of great men. It is possible that the author's own opinions may have changed as he wrote the various portions of the book.

Lord Wolseley tells us that Marlborough put the crown on the head of William III. In other words, King James lost his crown because Churchill abandoned him. Britain lost her Catholic dynasty through Churchill's treacherous desertion. Perhaps in the end Marlborough's crime may have benefited the Catholic Church in these islands. If the Catholic Stuarts had retained the throne, it is possible that the story of France might have been repeated in England, and that, after the power of parliament had dwindled away, the mob might have swept away the throne and every outward symbol of the Christian religion with it. Or, worse, the Catholic Church in England under royal patronage might have been imbued with Gallican principles. Perhaps it is all for the best that after more than a century of penal laws the Catholic Church which James II. upheld in England blossomed into its "second spring" without any aid from a palace.

G. T. MACKENZIE.

ART. X.—SOME FEATURES OF PAPAL JURISDICTION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND.

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters I., 1198–1304. Edited by W. H. BLISS, B.C.L. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 4to. Pp. 778. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

IT is a commonplace of English history that the Popes exercised jurisdiction over the Church in this country before the Reformation. But only those who are familiar with the records of the period are likely to be aware how closely and how constantly Papal jurisdiction was invoked, and how intimately its exercise was interwoven with the whole fabric of national and social life in England. To measure the extent and impact of Papal authority, and to gauge the relations of Rome and England in pre-Reformation times, we could suggest to the impartial inquirer no simpler or safer method than to turn over for himself the pages of the Papal Registers which have just been edited by Mr. Bliss, and published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

When Leo XIII., in the fulfilment of that enlightened policy which so luminously marks his whole pontificate, threw open the treasures of the Vatican library to the students of Europe, the various nations hastened to avail themselves of the opportunity, and sent thither competent scholars to cull from the Vatican archives the materials which concerned the history of their respective countries. The British Government commissioned Mr. Bliss for this purpose, and the present work represents the first instalment of his labours. The correspondence which passed between England and the Holy See found its way, in large measure, into the Papal Registers, or collections of letters known as *Regesta*. These Mr. Bliss has duly examined, and in a volume uniform in size and shape with the usual Calendars of State Papers issued from the Rolls Office, he has given a list of the Papal documents relating to these countries between the years 1198 and 1304, with a short summary sufficient to

indicate the purport of each. The collection so far contains an account of some 5000 documents. This number gives an average of about forty-seven per year, or nearly one a week, passing between England and the Holy See for the 106 years included in the present volume.

The Calendar State-paper method which presents to the reader not the *ipsissima verba* of a document but an intelligent summary of its contents, has the double advantage, first of sparing the reader the tiresome recurrence of stereotyped forms, and of thus putting him at once in possession of the facts, giving a *coup d'œil* of the position unattainable perhaps by any other way; and secondly by enabling the editor to compress within the compass of one or more volumes materials which given in their entirety would probably occupy fifty or a hundred. On the other hand, the method labours under the drawback that certain graphic details of personal or local interest—often the *obiter dicta* of the writer—so valuable in these days when history, like art, aims at representing not merely fact but life—may easily escape through the sieve of the summarist. A still graver disadvantage, we take it, lies in the fact that the true and historic relations of powers can hardly be accurately apprehended if we leave out of count the tone or feeling which animates their correspondence. But much of this living tone, whether friendly or hostile, is likely to evaporate in the process of summarising, and naturally but little of it can be expected to be left in the colourless *précis* of a calendar. We note this fact, not to discount the inestimable value of this and other State-paper collections, but rather in the hope that readers of Mr. Bliss's admirable volume may be tempted to go further and examine such portions of these or analogous documents as may be within their reach, whether in Wilkins, Rymer, Theiner, Jaffé, or Potthast, Marini or elsewhere, so that in their light they may gauge for themselves what Rome was to England, and what England was to Rome in the centuries which preceded the Reformation. We do not imply for a moment that the reader will not carry away from the perusal of the work of Mr. Bliss a deep and correct and valuable impression of the intimate and varied relations between the Popes and the English crown, Church and nation—he undoubtedly will as far as State-paper knowledge can convey

it—but we would suggest that the skeleton impression thus gained will be all the better for being clothed with the flesh and blood and life that find their source in the original document.

The incidence of these documents bear broadly upon the entire surface of the national structure. Some affect the kings, others the baronage, others the primates, others the bishops and their dioceses, others the monasteries and the cathedral chapters, others the clergy and the parochial churches, while others concerned the domestic affairs of families. No phase of English life seems to have lain outside their influence.

THE POPE AND THE KINGS.

The period comprised in this volume covers the era of the Magna Charta, and therefore includes what might be called the perigee in the temporal relations between the English crown and the Holy See. The English king became a vassal of the Pope. It is unnecessary to observe that the relation of vassalage imports to the general reader in the nineteenth century an opprobrium which would have been utterly absent from the minds of even the noblest princes or barons of the thirteenth. In our own time, nations strengthen one another by concluding alliances offensive and defensive. In the Middle Ages, they did the same, but the smaller nations had a way of sheltering themselves under the cover of the stronger ones. The alliance took the form of "Commendation," as Mr. Freeman very well describes it. The weaker power commended itself to the stronger. The stronger ruler took the weaker one under his protection, and the weaker in return offered "fealty" or "homage" and became the "man" of the stronger. As the Papacy was then amongst the strongest of European Powers, several States found it convenient to enter into this commendatory alliance with it, and to claim its protection by offers of temporal homage. The Norman Kingdom of Naples and other nations had done so, and King John in the hour of his need deemed it well to follow their example. Commendation was, of course, an agreement upon a footing, not of co-ordination but of honourable subordination; but it is probable that the king and his barons saw in such a course not much more of humiliation or dishonour than King

Humbert or Signor Crispi in our own day see in the Triple Alliance. The event finds its record in the Calendar in the following three entries :

1212. 13 *May*, Letters patent of the king submitting to the Pope (opp. *Dover*. ed. Migne iii. 876, *Fœdera*).
 15 *May*. Letters patent of the king resigning his kingdom to the Pope (opp. ed. Migne iii. 878, Stubbs' *Select charters*, *Fœdera*).
 15 *May*, *apud Templum de Well*. Letters of the king to the Pope, offering a yearly payment of 1000 marks (opp. ed. Migne iii. 881).
 1213. 2 *Non July*, *Lateran*. Letter to the king thanking him for the satisfaction and submission he has made by granting his kingdom to the Roman Church, from which he holds it at the yearly cess of 700 marks for England and 300 for Ireland (opp. ed. Migne iii. 881).

The following is the record of the like submission made by the king of the Isle of Man.

1219. 10 *Kal. Oct. Temple, London*. Letter from Reginald, King of the Isles, to the Pope. At the exhortation of Pandulph, Papal legate, he has given to the Pope his island of Man, and he binds himself and his heirs to hold it in fee from the Roman Church, and to pay homage and fealty for it, paying yearly 12 marks in England at the Abbey of Furnis, at the feast of the Purification. This gift the legate received on the part of the Pope, and gave the island in fee to the King and his heirs, to be held in the name of the Roman Church. The King of the Isles therefore informs the Pope that at the mandate of the legate he has sworn to observe the aforesaid, and to give security for himself, his heirs, and the men of the island; in testimony whereof he has caused these letters patent to be made. Witnesses, C. Bishop of Bangor. Master M. Official of the Isle of Man. John, Clerk. Ivo son (of) Hollwed, Master Ivo. Holanus, Steward of the King of Man. He prays the Pope to send him that privilege which is granted to other Kings, tributaries, and vassals of the Roman Church.

The letters to the English kings are much in the same strain, and move within the same round of interests with which readers of Theiner's *Monumenta*, or Rymer's *Fœdera*, or the Papal Bulls in the Record Office, or the Abbate Marino Marini's transcripts are sufficiently familiar.

Pope Gregory X., in 1273, writes to King Edward I. to notify the assembly of the General Council, and summons the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Dublin, Cashel, Tuam and Armagh, and their suffragans to be present thereat. He writes to the Queen Eleanor to exhort her to use her influence for peace and goodwill amongst members of the royal family. In the same year the king has written to inform the Pope that there was a standing feud between his father and the Hastings family. Now there is a chance of making peace between the two houses, for John, son of Henry de Hastings wishes to marry Isabella, the late king's niece. But they are second cousins, once removed. Will the Pope grant a dispensation from the ecclesiastical impediment of consanguinity? The Pope commands the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant the dispensation requested, "if the said marriage be conducive to peace in England." The queen has an Italian cleric who acts as her physician. Apparently she would like to have him maintained out of the funds of the Church. She wishes the Pope to let him have a benefice in the diocese of Canterbury. The Pope, who no doubt was good enough to consider the good queen's health in the light of a Church interest, graciously orders the archbishop to provide him with one. Pope Martin IV. writes to Edward I. in reply to eight petitions which the king had laid before him concerning the raising of a tenth for crusade purposes. There was generally no difficulty about granting a tenth for a crusade, provided the king would really use it for that purpose—a point which the Pope does not seem to be ready to take for granted. But the king wished to go further, and asked to be allowed to take the first-fruits of void benefices for ten years. To this the Pope emphatically says no, and adds that to no prince, even in aid of the Holy Land, has such a concession ever been granted.

One cannot help thinking that the modern efforts of the Peace Society had an all-powerful precedent in the policy of the Popes in the Middle Ages.* The same Pope sends to the

* When Lewelin in A.D. 1234 was raiding many of the English counties and causing widespread disorder, King Henry III. complained to Pope Gregory IX. of the apathy of the English bishops, who looked upon the outrages as trifling, and failed to use the censures of the Church against the

king an urgent injunction to keep the peace—identical letters having been sent to the Kings of France, Sicily, Portugal, and to the leaders of the great military orders. The queen having settled her physician, wants a benefice for her chancellor. Rome says yes, and the chancellor gets it. Honorius IV. forwards to the king minute instructions as to the collection of the tenth for the Holy Land. He confirms the king's foundation and endowment of a monastery in the diocese of St. Asaph. He then issues an injunction to King Alexander III. of Scotland to look more carefully to the protection of the churches and clergy—the Bishops of Ross and Moray have been complaining to the Pope about the excesses of the king's officials. The Pope confirms a grant of 1300 marks to be made as a dower to the widow of the son of the Scottish king. In 1291 Pope Nicholas IV. grants an indult to Edmund, son of King Henry, allowing him to choose his confessor, who may give him absolution in all cases not reserved to the Holy See. The same is granted to Blanche, Edmund's wife. Moreover, Edmund is granted the privilege of a portable altar. Further, Edmund and Blanche are allowed to have the divine offices celebrated privately in places under sentence of interdict. (It is perhaps well to know that, for if by any chance in the records of this country some evidence had been suddenly unearthed to the effect that this royal couple had acted on this indult, there are writers of English history who would have seized upon the fact to impress upon their readers that the prince had defied the apostolic censures, and set at nought the authority of the Holy See!) In 1298, Boniface VIII. writes to Edward I. to say that he has accepted the post of arbiter between him and the King of France. He grants to the same king the indult that the clerks and laymen of his household may go to confession to the king's chaplain. Queen Margaret is to have the privilege of a portable altar.

Writers insufficiently acquainted with the methods of the Middle Ages are wont to denounce in unqualified terms the practice of pluralism and the giving of benefices to youthful

perpetrators, and excused themselves, saying that "Lewelin was no parishioner of theirs." The Pope, to maintain the cause of public order in England, sent forthwith a mandate to the Bishops of Durham and Rochester to use, if need be, the Papal authority to compel the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans to do their duty in preserving the peace of the realm.

clerics not yet ordained, or to non-resident clergy. And undoubtedly English Primates like Peckham have joined in the condemnation. But it may be doubted if the writers to whom we allude at all times sufficiently take into account the fact that often it was precisely by holding two or more benefices, and putting in a vicar to do the parochial work, that clerics were able to maintain themselves and pursue their studies at the English or Continental Universities; and that it was by the same expedient that non-resident clerks were enabled to support themselves while they devoted themselves to one or other branch of the royal or national service. Thus in some measure pluralism furnished practically the means of a system of educational and official endowment, and did to some extent what scholarships and the Civil Service fund do at the present day.

Thus Pope Nicholas IV. grants to Edward I. an indult that ten clerks engaged in his service may receive the fruits of their benefices for eight years—daily distributions excepted—the said clerks being non-resident therein. In another instance, the queen's chaplains are provided for in the same manner. Alexander IV., in 1255, grants an indult to Roger Luvel, of Witheton, one of the king's clerks and papal chaplain, to receive his income and be non-resident from his benefices, "while studying at Paris, Oxford or elsewhere." The king asks that another of his clerks, Philip Luvel, who acts as his chaplain and treasurer, may have an additional benefice, and the Pope writes to concede the favour. Besides these, we have many grants to the English clergy to add one or more to the number of their benefices.

We take it that the dispensations for plurality had three recognised justifications—poverty of a single benefice, the clerical education of the future incumbent, and the endowment of certain official positions of general ecclesiastical or national utility.

That this method of endowment based on pluralism had in some measure the conscientious sanction of public opinion is borne out by the fact that many of the most illustrious and saintly of the fourteenth and fifteenth century prelates, such as Wykeham of Winchester, Smith of Lincoln, and Oldham of Exeter, were noted pluralists before their elevation to the

episcopate. We can quite conceive that pluralism was attended by evils and abuses, but in forming our historical estimate of these it is important to discount the element of recognised utility to which we have referred.

Finally, to these various phases of Papal and Royal correspondence, we have to add the numerous letters in which the Pope notifies to the king that he has appointed an English bishop or an abbot, and reminds him that although the Papal-Royal correspondence covers a wide area and enters into a manifold variety of interests, the tone which pervades it, even at times when there was much to try the patience of the parties on both sides, is consistently cordial and respectful. The Pope invariably salutes the English Sovereign as his "beloved" or "most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of England," and almost always concludes by a blessing. The king, on his part, salutes the Pope as "most Holy Father and Lord in Christ" and "Sovereign Pontiff," and offers him "due subjection and all manner of service,"* or "due reverence to so great a Father,"† and "devoutly kisses the blessed feet,"‡ and concludes with a prayer that the Pope may be "long spared for the government of God's Holy Church." The body of the communications which lies between these recognised beginnings and endings is exactly what we should expect of a Catholic sovereign or the supreme head of the Church, and would compare favourably in excellence of tone and temper and good feeling with the correspondence which passes between the Court of Rome and the governments, say, of Spain or Austria, at the present day.

THE PAPACY AND THE ARCHBISHOPS.

The archbishops, as metropolitans and as *legati nati*, were normally the chief agents in England of the Pope, whom, as Grossetete and Archbishop Walter Reynolds so emphatically declared, they could not lawfully disobey.§ As Archbishop

* Edward the Confessor to Pope Nicholas, Wilkins, i. 319.

† Henry III. to Pope Gregory IX., Wilkins, i. 568.

‡ Edward I. to Clement V., Wilkins, ii. 282.

§ "Having gravely considered these things, we have resolved rather to suffer the temporal dangers and risks of the present, by fulfilling the Apostolic commands than by disobeying them, to offend the divine Majesty."—Letter of Archbishop Reynolds to his suffragans in 1320.

Warham said in a later age, they were "executors or commissaries of the commands of the Pope," "and to disobey him would be perjury rather than which death itself would be preferable."* The archbishops were thus the depositories of the Apostolic commands, and in matters which concerned the Church of the province, the distributors of the Papal ordinances intended for their suffragans. Thus, when the Pope issued an ordinance to the Southern province, he addressed it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop thereupon drew up a "communicatory letter" for his suffragans, in which he embodied the Papal letter, and then promulgates it, declaring that in so doing he executes the Papal commands "as we are bound to do." A fair specimen of these promulgations is the letter of Archbishop Winchelsey in 1296. He incorporates a letter from the Papal Legates, incorporating in turn an ordinance of Pope Boniface VIII., and appends to it this junction :

Wherefore wishful, as it behoveth us, to execute in this matter what is commanded, we command and enjoin you, according to the tenor of the foresaid, that you in your diocese publicly and diligently execute, or cause to be executed, at the earliest possible opportunity, the said command, both as to publication and to all things else therein contained, according to the form before given, to us delivered, and according to the requirement of the law; and that, in so far as it concerns you, you shall observe the same, and shall cause it to be inviolably observed by your subjects.†

The archbishops wore the Roman Pallium, and were sworn to fealty and obedience to the Pope. As their suffragans in turn professed obedience to them, the Archiepiscopal or Pallium oath was naturally held to be a sufficiently binding tie between the entire bishops of the province and the Holy See, long before the practice obtained of exacting the oath of

* See Warham's Defence, published in this REVIEW, April 1894, p. 406. And in so doing, I was but the Pope's commissarie. And the consecrating the said busshop is principally the Pope's dede which commanded it to be done. Wherefor I think it not reasonable that I shuld fall into a premunire for the doing of that thing; whereby (if I had done the contrary) I shuld have fallen into perjury." "And wher in this case not dooing the Pope's commandment, I shuld fall into perjury, and doing his commandment I shuld fall into a *premunire*, as is supposed, if a man could not chose but to fall into one of the said dayngers of perjury or premunire, *melius est incidere in manus hominum quam derelinquere legem Dei.*"

† Wilkins, i. 323.

obedience from each bishop individually on the day of his consecration, although this latter method prevailed for a considerable time before the Reformation.

Thus, in the Papal Registers, we find in 1234 the following record of the despatch of the pallium to St. Edmund. (The Pope had previously quashed the election of John Blund, who had been elected, and who had received the royal assent.)

3 *Non. Feb.* Letter to Edmund, archbishop elect of Canterbury, stating that the Pope has sent the pallium taken from the body of St. Peter, by Simon Leyrcestria, monk of Canterbury, Masters Henry Tessine, Canon of Salisbury, and Nicholas de Bureford to the Bishops of London and Rochester, who will give it to him.

Ibid. Mandate to the Bishops of London and Rochester to assign the pallium to the said archbishop elect, and receive his oath of fealty.

In 1239 the Bishops of Emly and Ardferit in Ireland are commissioned to deliver the pallium to the Archbishop of Cashel, who had petitioned for it. The commissioners are charged to receive his oath of fealty to the Pope, and "to return the said oath to the Pope, under letters patent sealed with his seal."* In the mandate to the Bishops of Clonfert, Killala and Aghadoe in 1289, commissioning them to give the pallium to William, Archbishop of Tuam, they are charged to "receive the oath of fealty according to the form sent with this mandate, to which is also appended the form of giving the pallium."

It is noteworthy that the taking of the oath of fealty was connected, not merely with the reception of the pallium, but with the ceremony of consecration. In this very case, and a fortnight previous to the issue of the above mandate, the Bishops of Clonfert and Killala and two other suffragans were ordered "to consecrate William, Archbishop-elect of Tuam, late rector of Athenry, in the diocese of Tuam, and to receive his oath of fealty to the Pope and to the Roman Church." In 1290, Stephen, Archdeacon of Glendalough, was consecrated by the Pope, and the pallium was given him by

* In 1279, three English bishops, London, Norwich and Worcester, are the pallium commissioners to receive the oath of fealty of John de Derlington, Archbishop of Dublin. The Bishops of Leighlin and Farns acted in the same capacity to his successor, John de Saundford in 1285.

three Cardinals. The Bishops of Durham and Ely deliver the pallium and receive the oath of Papal obedience in 1298 from Henry de Newark, Archbishop of York.

In 1274, the Pope commands the Bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Argyle in Scotland, to examine into the fitness of Archibald, Archdeacon of Moray, and Bishop-elect of Caithness. A Cardinalitial Commission has examined and reported that his election was canonically carried out, but there is not sufficient evidence as to the worthiness of the candidate. The three bishops are to inquire into the matter, and if they find that he is a fit person, they are "to consecrate him, receiving his oath of fealty to the Pope." In the year following (1275) there is a precisely similar mandate to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, to examine Robert de Syvin for the See of Ross, and, if fit, "to consecrate him, receiving his oath of fealty to the Pope." This is followed by another to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, to examine into an election of William Comyn, a Dominican professor of theology at Perth, to the See of Brechin, and if satisfied as to its validity, and the fitness of the said William, "to consecrate him the bishop-elect, receiving his oath of fealty to the Pope."

THE OATH OF OBEDIENCE.

From a study of these and other data we may safely draw the following outline of the Church practice concerning the Oath of Obedience made by the hierarchies of these countries to the Apostolic See:—

1. The regulations as to taking an oath of obedience to the Pope, which we find set forth so fully in the Bulls by which Wolsey was appointed to the See of Lincoln (Rymer's "*Fœdera*," xiii. 390), and Ruthall to the See of Durham (*ib.* 28), in 1509 and 1503 respectively, were already substantially in force (although the form of the oath was a shorter one), in the case of *Archbishops** of England and Ireland during the thirteenth century.

* There is some reason for believing that even English bishops at this period took the oath at their consecration. There is, in 1278, an indult from the Pope to Hugh (Balsham), Bishop of Ely, granting him absolution "from his promise and oath, made at his consecration by Pope Alexander, to visit the Apostolic See every three years." This, however, may be connected with the fact that Hugh Balsham was consecrated at Rome. However, the four-

2. There is evidence that in Ireland in the thirteenth century the archbishops took this oath, not only on receiving the pallium, but at their consecration ("Papal Registers," p. 498).

3. In Scotland (or as Pope Honorius III. in 1218 calls it—the *Ecclesia Scotticana*) in the thirteenth century bishops took the oath at their consecration. We may find a reason for this in the fact that there were no archbishops in Scotland until Sixtus IV. erected St. Andrews into a metropolitan See in 1472, and the Sees of the Scottish Church were "immediately subject to the Roman Church."*

4. Archbishops and bishops of Ireland and bishops of Scotland when consecrated at Rome in the thirteenth century took the oath at their consecrations ("Papal Registers," p. 454, Theiner, 160). A very large proportion of Scottish bishops went to Rome for consecration.

5. In the cases above mentioned—consecrations of English or Irish archbishops and of Scottish bishops—the Bulls† usually make mention of the oath of obedience. There are a number of Bulls in which all mention of the oath is absent. Upon examination these are uniformly found to be cases in which the consecration is mentioned as having taken place in Rome. In Rome, as we know from the cases of Ely and Clonfert, the oath was regularly administered at consecration ("Papal Registers," 454, Theiner, 160). The inference is that when a prelate was consecrated in Rome the fact of his having taken the oath was already assured, and thence the Bulls naturally omit the usual clause referring to it.

A few examples will suffice to show how the Popes counted upon the obedience of the archbishops, and through them regulated the ordinary government of the Church in this country.

In 1198 an indult is granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury to make ordinances to enforce tithes being paid to the parish churches and not to others. An abbot of Waltham has got into a way of keeping the money of the abbey under

teenth century pontifical, which was used by Bishop Lacy of Exeter, proves that a profession of obedience to St. Peter and his vicars, the Roman Pontiffs, preceded the profession of obedience to the See of Canterbury, in the ceremony of Episcopal consecration (Exeter Pontifical, p. 93).

* So Innocent IV. declares in 1253. Theiner, 59, also 159.

† The Mandate to the Consecrator or Pallium Commissioners.

his own personal care. The constitution of the Apostolic See requires that such moneys shall be kept in a bag in the custody of two or three canons. The Archbishop of Canterbury is commanded to associate the Abbots of Chertsey and Cirencestre in commission with himself and compel the offending abbot to keep his moneys as he ought to do.

In 1209 the Pope grants a faculty to the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury to absolve two persons excommunicated for guilt of sacrilege, if they humbly implore the absolution. In the same year the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury is commanded to examine three of the canons who took part in the election of Hugh, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, and if he find it canonical "he is to confirm it by metropolitical authority; if not he is to report to the Pope, and he is also to make inquiry into the character of the bishop-elect." In 1222, the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury is commanded by the Pope to make a visitation of his province, and is reminded that he has neglected this part of his office. In 1224, the same Cardinal Archbishop is commanded by Honorius III. to exercise his influence with the king, and to dissuade him from making war upon his own English subjects while England is exposed to danger from foreign enemies. He is to counsel the king to try to get the better of his vassals not so much by force of arms as by benefits. In the same year the Archbishop of York is ordered to associate with himself the Bishops of Carlisle and Exeter, and examine the case of Alan, Constable of Scotland, about the validity of whose marriage doubts have arisen. Alan had appealed to the Pope, who now orders the case to be tried by commission, and charges the episcopal commissioners to examine all persons concerned, and "to do what is according to the law of God and the good of souls." In 1244, the Archbishop of Armagh receives a mandate to examine the election of Master John to the See of Lismore, and, if all be satisfactory, to confirm it. That the Irish Primate may have legal assistance in the matter, Master Martin, clerk of the Papal Camera, is associated with him as co-examiner. In Theiner's "*Vetera Monumenta*" may be seen a large number of similar mandates to the Irish Archbishops, or to local episcopal commissions to examine into the validity of elections to the Irish Sees. In Scotland, where there were no Arch-

bishops until 1472, the Holy See verified and confirmed elections to the Sees by issuing a mandate for the purpose to a commission of neighbouring bishops. Thus in 1208 the Papal writ is sent to the Bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin and the Abbot of Kelso to examine the election of Adam, Bishop-elect of Aberdeen.

When metropolitan Sees were vacant, the same course was followed in Ireland. In 1291 there is a general mandate to the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, Tuam and all their suffragans, to abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, prelates, chapters, convents and colleges, to give a tenth of their revenues to their king, to enable him to set out for the Holy Land in 1293. These are, of course, but instances of which hundreds might as easily be cited, but they are typical of the various forms in which Papal jurisdiction moved and controlled the archiepiscopal machinery of the Church in these countries.

THE POPE AND THE BISHOPS.

While the Pope thus regulated the higher sphere of church business by the agency of the metropolitans, the volume of direct dealings of Rome with each diocese was hardly less remarkable. A few examples will serve as an illustration.

In 1202 the Bishop of Ely, the Dean of Lincoln and the Archdeacon of Bedford receive from the Pope a commission to investigate certain charges which have been brought against the Archbishop of York. In 1204 John, the master of the hospital at York, appointed by the archbishop, has been removed by the dean and chapter. The Pope commissions the Bishop of Hereford, his dean and precentor, to try the case and decide it.

Matrimonial troubles apparently were not wanting in the thirteenth century. In the year 1205, a certain gentleman, called W., felt himself called to enter a Cistercian monastery and take the monastic habit. He induced his wife to enter a convent. She did so, but, with a prudent prevision of what might happen, refrained from taking vows. Now, as soon as she was safely in, W. came out. He returned to the world and to liberty. Moreover, he refused to take back his wife and "treated her injuriously." The case reached Rome. The

Pope issued a peremptory mandate to the Bishop of Ely and two other commissioners to compel W. to take back his wife forthwith, unless it should be that she is far advanced in years.

In 1219, the Bishop of Winchester receives from the Pope a faculty empowering him to correct certain excesses on the part of the monks. He is informed, moreover, that the Papal Legate has orders to enforce such sentences as he may pronounce against them.

In 1238, the king is anxious to invalidate the election recently made to the See of Durham. The king had made certain charges against the bishop-elect, and had laid them before the archbishop. The archbishop refused to take cognisance of them, whereupon the king has appealed to the Pope. The Pope issues a mandate to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archdeacon of Northampton, and the Chancellor of St. Paul's, to try the whole case. If the king can prove his charges within two months, they are to annul the election. If he fails to do so, and if they find the election to have been canonically made, they are to confirm it, and order the archbishop to consecrate the bishop-elect.

The following is an instance of how a couple of talkative monks brought trouble on their abbot. In 1224, two monks, R. and W., from the Abbey of Tewkesbury, arrived in Rome. Advisedly or incidentally, they proceeded to describe the magnificence of their abbot whom they had left at home, and related how he was wont to wear mitre, and ring, and gloves, and give the solemn benediction after Mass. And the better to impress their hearers, they appear to have added that he held in his possession Papal letters authorising him to do so. The Pope thereupon issues a mandate to the Bishop of Ely, the Abbot of Waredon and the Archdeacon of Bedford, to go to Tewkesbury and hold a court of inquiry. The Pope further informs the commissioners that the alleged letters do not agree with the transcript in the Papal Chancery, and that never has he given leave to any abbot to wear gloves or give the solemn benediction. The transcript is forwarded, and if the alleged letters, when compared with it, are found to be spurious, those who obtained and used them are to be deprived; but if the letters cannot be found, they are to hold a visitation of the

monastery, and correct whatever has need of correction. It would be really interesting to know what the splendour-loving abbot, deprived of his gloves, had to say to the two monks when they returned to Tewkesbury, or whether his greeting partook of the nature of the solemn benediction.

There is an impression that the Medieval Church was unduly severe in its punishment of crimes committed by the laity against the clergy. The following case does not lend much confirmation to the view. In 1202, a certain Lumberd, a layman, joined in an expedition led by the Earl of Caithness. He stormed a castle belonging to the Bishop of Caithness, and took the bishop himself prisoner. No doubt the bishop had something to say by way of remonstrance. Whereupon Lumberd, at the instance of his fellow-soldiers, seized the bishop and cut out his tongue. Later on, Lumberd repents and makes his way to the Pope. Cutting out a bishop's tongue could hardly be a small offence in days when even striking a cleric meant excommunication, and one waits to see what dire punishment the offended majesty of the Church will devise for the perpetrator. We only learn that the Pope gives him a letter to the Bishop of the Orkneys, commanding the Bishop to receive Lumberd, and see that he performs the penance enjoined on him. After all, there was mercy in the Middle Ages.

In 1219, the Bishop of Carlisle finds that a number of pensions have been illegally granted out of the revenues of the diocese. The Pope sends him an indult to revoke them. In the same year the Bishop of Bath and Wells receives from the Pope a confirmation of an agreement by which are united the churches of Bath and Glastonbury. In 1255, the Bishop of Norwich receives Papal confirmation for his new hospital for aged priests and poor scholars.

To these instances of Papal action in the dioceses, would have to be added the numberless cases of decisions or judgments of capitular disputes and episcopal elections, and the adjustment of the respective rights of the monastic bodies in relation to the Ordinary. It is the habit of certain writers to represent this intervention as sufficiently explained by the ambition or intrusion of the Pope ever ready to override the diocesan authority. A glance at the abstracts in Mr. Bliss's

Calendar, or at the documents in the collections of Theiner and others, would suffice to convince any candid reader that such a view is utterly untenable. In the voluminous mass of evidence, rarely do we see an act of the Pope which can be called *proprio motu*. The mandates are answers to appeals, and the indulgences and faculties are answers to petitions, in which the English bishops, abbots, and chapters themselves took the initiative. They are in nearly every case the first to invoke the exercise of the Pope's authority, and it is childish to suppose that they would have invoked and obeyed an authority in which they did not believe, and which they did not conscientiously recognise. We might well apply to the Medieval English Church the unanswerable remark of the Protestant writer, Kemble, when speaking of Papal jurisdiction as shown by the gift and acceptance of the pallium in the Anglo-Saxon Church. He says, "The question is not whether the Roman See had the right to make the demand, but whether—usurpation or not—it was acquiesced in and admitted by the Anglo-Saxon Church, and on that point there can be no dispute" (Kemble's "Saxons," vol. ii., p. 371, note).

On the other hand, nothing is more marked in these records of the government of the Church in these countries in the thirteenth century, than the constant tendency of the Holy See to judge and act by means of local episcopal commissions. Its policy, as written on the face of these documents, reads not as one of intrusion, but largely as one of devolution, and that especially in the very zenith of Papal power, and during the pontificate of Innocent III. Undoubtedly these collections contain numerous evidences of monetary exactions and subsidies for the Crusades, of provisions for foreign clerics, and of dispensations for pluralities. In whatever measure these were excessive, they are to be frankly condemned and deplored. Yet we are confident that in proportion as English church history is studied, not with partisan bias but in the spirit of thoroughness and justice, not at second-hand from Matthew Paris, but from original, authentic and official documents, a clearer and fairer appreciation of the thirteenth century methods of Church government will obtain. Writers will ask themselves if, after all, it is true that all the moneys deported out of England went simply to the enrichment of the Court of Rome, or that all the

foreigners sent into England were idlers and parasites, or that all the dispensations for pluralities were acts of unjustifiable aggrandisement of individuals. To these questions, three thoughts will rise up in answer—the inestimable service rendered to the defence of Europe by the aggressive policy of the Crusades; the large number of admirable bishops of English Sees who were of foreign origin (Lanfranc, Anselm, St. Hugh of Lincoln); and the large volume of educational and official work maintained by the marginal incomes derived from the tenure of more than one benefice. We do not wish to suggest that these considerations cover the whole ground of complaint, or that they constitute a sufficient justification of all that was done in these three channels of national grievance. On the contrary, there were connected with them abuses which, if they occurred to-day, would draw from our Catholic bishops words of loyal remonstrance and protest much more vehement than any which proceeded from the lips of Grossetete. But we may plead that such extenuations must be fairly taken into account when we draw up the balance-sheet of good and of evil for the English Church in the thirteenth century.

THE POPE AND THE ENGLISH CLERGY AND LAITY.

While the action of the Holy See entered, as we have seen, into the provincial and diocesan mechanism, it radiated at the same time in a special manner to individuals and families in the form of indults, or special favours, and dispensations. The following are a few examples of this connection between individual members of the clergy or the laity and the chief Pastor in Christendom.

In 1221, a poor priest entered a Cistercian monastery in Scotland, and within a month went out of his mind. He has appealed to Rome for protection. Pope Honorius III. issues a mandate to the Abbots of Melrose and Neubottle, to see that the priest is left to his own conscience as to whether or not he shall embrace the monastic life, and that he is to be allowed to stay in the monastery or to leave it just as he may prefer.

In 1226, John, clerk of Walmere, is dispensed by the Pope of the disqualification of illegitimate birth, so that he may receive holy orders.

In 1237, a French abbot agreed to let his English manor of Wolvetee to R., a layman of the diocese of Wells, on condition that he took an oath to remain unmarried. Evidently the abbot was thinking of the reversion of the property, and did not wish that R. should be distracted by the cares of a family to succeed to his inheritance. Pope Gregory IX. sends a mandate to the Dean of Wells and two other commissioners, declaring the oath of celibacy thus taken to be illegal, and commanding them to compel the abbot to relax it.

In the same year, Gilbert, Earl Marshal of England, sends to the Pope the charter of the grant of the patronage of a church to the monastery of St. Mary de Gloria, and the Pope writes to thank the Earl for his donation.

In 1254, Ela of Warwick receives from the Pope a dispensation to marry Philip, son of Alan, a knight, who is related to her in the third degree of affinity.

Alan Villanus married Isabella, daughter of Clement, but after the marriage it was discovered that the parties were third cousins. In 1255, the Pope sends a mandate to their diocesan, the Bishop of Lichfield, to inquire into the facts, and if need be, to grant the requisite dispensation.

John de Beaumont married Agnes, in ignorance of the fact that he and she were related as third cousins. In 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. commands the Archbishop of York to grant the required dispensation, validate the marriage, and declares legitimate past and future offspring.*

In 1252, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, receives a permit to enter, when travelling accompanied by ladies of her suite, Cistercian monasteries and granges, and partake of their hospitality. A faculty, in 1290, is granted to Blanche, Countess of Leicester, to visit a monastery in France, but requires that she shall "be accompanied by twelve matrons." Accompanied by "eight matrons" she may visit any French or English convent of the order of St. Clare, but she or her companions "are not to eat there, nor to pass the night with the sisters."

In 1288, Nicholas IV. grants permission to the Abbot of

* The Canon Law wisely and mercifully declares legitimate the children of a marriage which is found to be null, but in which the contracting parties were in good faith, and unaware of the nullity.

Hyde, in the Diocese of Winchester, and his monks to wear caps of sheepskin during the offices and processions, as the cold in those parts had caused paralysis to many members of the community.

The following is an example of the danger of making vows for other people. Lady de Wooton made a vow that if her child, not yet born, were a son, he should make the pilgrimage to Rome. In 1288, the said son, Sir John de Wooton, now advanced in years, pleads that he is too old and weak to make the journey. Moreover, he is sheriff of Wiltshire and engaged in the king's business. The Pope directs the Bishop of Salisbury to absolve Sir John from the vow, and directs the expense which would have been incurred by the journey to be given to St. Peter's Basilica.

In 1254, Robert Valeant, the king's steward, is allowed the privilege of a portable altar. In 1286, Robert de Vesci, one of the king's knights, is granted the same.

In 1289, the Earl of Lincoln receives from Pope Nicholas IV. the faculty to choose his own confessor, who may absolve him from all sins, except those in which absolution is reserved to the Apostolic See.

These instances, which are chosen at hazard, and not always well chosen, from a large number of recurring cases, may serve to indicate in some way the general scope in which Papal jurisdiction moved and worked in Catholic England.

They enforce a consideration, which in these times of short polemical Church histories, may not be without its value.

Many, we might say nearly all, of the documents we have referred to are of a tenor which carries with it the conviction that Papal jurisdiction in Medieval England was not merely recognised but readily invoked by all classes of the people throughout the three kingdoms. When, for instance, Ela of Warwick wishes to have a dispensation whereby she can marry Philip of Alan, no one imagines that the Pope in Rome offers her one spontaneously or *proprio motu*. He would never have heard of the case at all had not these English families applied for it. Nor, again, would they have done so had they not been taught by their spiritual guides that such was the proper and necessary course to follow. In

fact, the very petition would have proceeded from the diocesan court or under its sanction, just as the indult or mandate was addressed to the diocesan authority in return. Bearing in mind that this case represents the constant and universal practice of the thirteenth century, it would be impossible even to conceive of clergy and laity acting in this way, unless they carried in their conscience the conviction of the truth and validity of the Papal jurisdiction. Hence, we take it, that when writers labour to explain the historical facts of Medieval English life by asserting the "intrusion" and "usurpation" of Papal power, they leave completely untouched one half, and the most important half, of the difficulty. They have still to give to their readers some explanation of the fact that the whole clergy and people of England not only accepted Papal jurisdiction but had themselves constant recourse to it. They are bound in the light of documentary evidence to consider not only what the Pope claimed, but what the English people believed and admitted. In these Papal registers, as in a wealth of contemporary English records, the testimony of the past lies before us. Writers in the future have only to translate, to publish, and to circulate, and it will speak. Its voice will be no uncertain one. It will speak with the loudness of facts. No power upon earth can arrest the path of historical research, and no power upon earth can silence it. No nation can turn away its ear from the tale it has to tell. Sooner or later, the public opinion of this land, nobly vanquished by its own love of right, irresistibly, and willingly or unwillingly, will be brought both to listen and to learn. In those days, the battle of the Faith will still go on, and the tide of doctrinal war will sweep elsewhere, but one part of the field will be won for ever.

J. MOYES.

Science Notices.

Liquid Fuel.—The enterprise of Mr. Holden in advantageously running locomotives fired with liquid fuel on the Great Eastern Railway during the recent coal strike has done much to revive public interest in this important class of fuel. Mr. G. Stockfleth, in a recent paper read before the Society of Arts, gave much valuable information as to the kind of oil suitable for a successful fuel, and its supply.

Liquid fuel to be practicable must be inexpensive and safe. It must be capable of developing heat and undergoing complete combustion without producing unpleasant smells, smoke, or noxious gases. These requisites can only be found in the oils derived from coal and crude petroleum. The oil derived from coal is unfortunately not produced in sufficient quantities for anything like a general consumption, though it was the form of fuel employed by the Great Eastern Railway Company, who got their oil tanks filled from various gas works along the line. Therefore, practically, the only available present source is crude petroleum. When crude petroleum is distilled it gives off a series of hydrocarbons, known as gasoline, benzoline, kerosene and others. The distillates which evaporate at a low temperature are the most inflammable, and gradually as the temperature is raised the less inflammable oils are distilled. When the temperature in the stills reaches 300° to 320° centigrade, the hydrocarbon called kerosene comes off, and the residue, which in Russian is called *astatki*, forms the oil so admirably fitted for liquid fuel and so largely used in Russia for the purpose. *Astatki* contains all the heavy hydrocarbons capable of creating heat, and, being freed from the inflammable liquids, is perfectly safe. A burning match is instantly extinguished when plunged into it, and to make the fuel burn it has to undergo special treatment. Owing to its safe properties, in Baku it is stored in large open excavations in the ground, containing 5,000,000 poods each, which is equal to over 100,000 tons. The crude Russian petroleum yields about 35 per cent. benzoline, gasoline, and kerosene, the remaining 65 per cent. being available for manufacturing lubricating oils and the fuel. In Russia *astatki* is used for many ships on the Black Sea and in all steamers on the Caspian sea, while all locomotives in Southern Russia use it. The extent of its use in that country is shown by the fact that the transport of *astatki*

from Baku to the Caspian seaports and Astrakan amounted in 1892 to 107,361,435 poods, which is equal to 3,000,000 tons, and in addition to this 250,000 tons were shipped from Batoum. The figures for 1893 will probably show an increase. This tonnage does not include the consumption in Baku, which amounts to over 100,000 tons yearly. Astatki is the only fuel used at the boring of the wells and for all distillery purposes. It is also used to some extent for domestic warming and cooking stoves. From a tank placed at the top of a house a system of pipes leads the oil to the various stoves, where it drips on to a small cast-iron disc placed in front of the stove door, which has a small opening in it for the purpose of making a draught. When the plate is warm and the dripping of the oil is well regulated the fuel burns without attention. When the fuel is used for boiler and distilling purposes, it is necessary the oil should be sprayed so that it can be easily ignited and burn fiercely. There have been many patents taken out in Russia for injectors or pulverisators, but a simple arrangement answers the purpose. One half-inch pipe leads the oil from a tank, the other steam from a boiler, the ends of the pipe are flattened by a hammer and then tied together. The steam jet catches the outflowing oil, and forms the spray. The openings in the pipes are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide. This somewhat primitive arrangement can be improved in appearance by arranging the oil pipe inside the steam pipe and providing it with a brass nozzle. Compressed air has been used for pulverising the oil instead of steam.

There are many advantages gained by the use of liquid fuel. It can be readily adapted to any boiler that has been designed for firing with coal, and oil can be used alternately with coal if desired. When oil is used the fire bars have to be taken out or covered with thin plates and cylinders, and a hole has to be made in the furnace door for the nozzle of the pulverisator. As regards the steam generating power of liquid fuel, Mr. Stockfleth states that one ton of astatki is equal to more than two tons of coal. This comparison must, however, depend upon the quality of oil and coal used. When oil is used the fire can be extinguished instantaneously, and absolutely free from smoke and ashes. It is unnecessary to frequently open the furnace doors, so there is a saving of heat and the prevention of leakage of tubes due to currents of cold air. It is possible to raise steam very rapidly, and there is complete control over the fire. The waste of steam by the safety valve is thus avoided, and a better regulation of boiler pressure is secured. In the case of railways there is less space taken up by the storage of liquid fuel than is required for the coal supply. There is also a saving of labour, for the

oil can be taken into the locomotives simultaneously with the water supply. Then there is an increased comfort to passengers, by the avoidance of smoke and the blowing of safety valves. The stoker in an oil-driven locomotive has a comparatively easy time of it, even on an express train. His work simply consists in giving the regulating valve of the injector a turn from time to time. In the case of steamships the advantages of using liquid fuel are still more obvious. A great deal of space usually devoted to the coal bunkers can be saved. The oil can be conveniently kept in ballast tanks at the bottom of the ship, which gives stability to the vessel, and the oil can gradually be replaced by water. A much smaller stoke-hold is required, and the number of stokers can be reduced in the proportion of one to four. During storms, if water gets access to the stoke-hold and puts the fire out, the oil fire can be more quickly relighted than a coal fire, and there is less risk of accidents from scalding. The principal sources of liquid fuel are the American and Russian oil-fields, though there are more limited oil industries in Burmah, Canada, Galicia, Sumatra, Java, Japan, and Peru. The American oil-fields were first worked in 1859, while the Russian fields were not started until twenty years later. The American and Russian fields differ considerably in the class of crude oil they produce. The American oil gives about 80 per cent. of kerosene, and the remainder is available for making other petroleum products, including liquid fuel.

The Russian crude oil gives only about 35 per cent. of kerosene and other products, leaving 65 per cent. of astatki. Hence it is not surprising that it is in Russia that the use of this kind of fuel is so prominent. The method of boring the wells and the form of the wells is different in the two countries on account of the different geological formation. In America the wells are often drilled through rock from top to bottom, the average diameter at the top is 8 inches and the depth about 2500 feet. In Russia a well is about 24 inches in diameter at the top, and the depth is only about 800 feet. In boring for oil in new fields it is a wiser principle to test the territory by several borings at a comparatively moderate depth of about 500 feet, than by a few borings at great depths such as 2000 feet. The cost of plant, amount of skill, and the time involved progress at much quicker rate than the depth. After making deep borings at great cost there is the chance that the output does not justify the outlay.

In spite of the many advantages that liquid fuel possesses, it does not seem likely that it will be used to any general extent in this coal-producing country, except perhaps as a temporary expedient during

oil strikes. Its cost seems to be prohibitive, even if it could be obtained at as low a price as 2*d.* a gallon, which is doubtful. This oil represents 46*s.* 8*d.* per ton, and allowing the oil to have twice the calorific value, that would be equal to coal at 23*s.* per ton, which is considerably more than is paid for the best steam coal. It is in countries where coal is expensive that markets will be created. There are several parts within the British dominions where oil is abundant on the spot and coal is expensive, so there is sufficient encouragement for fresh enterprise in this direction. Liquid fuel will, however, be probably used at home to some extent as a luxury. On account of its cleanliness it should find great favour with the owners of steam yachts and launches. For underground railways it should be invaluable, as it would not produce the sulphurous fumes for which our underground railways are notorious. It commends itself for naval use in torpedo boats, wherein economy of space and possibility of quickly raising steam is of the greatest importance, while the absence of smoke in avoiding detection would be an invaluable protection.

Cyclonic Fogs.—The rule that foggy weather is attended with anti-cyclonic conditions like most others appears to have its exceptions. In the paper which Mr. Robert H. Scott read last year before the Royal Meteorological Society on "Fifteen Years' Fogs in the British Islands," he drew attention to the exceptional kind of fog which is reported with such strong winds as are represented by the forces of 6, 7, 8 on Beaufort's scale. During the fifteen years, 1876–1890, 128 of these fogs were reported, compared with 1571 in calm weather. The interest which was awakened in the subject during the discussion following the paper, led Mr. Scott to further investigate what he considers to be a somewhat obscure phenomenon. As cyclones press rather closely upon anti-cyclones, he considers it difficult to decide to which system the reputed fog properly belongs—whether to the cyclone or the anti-cyclone. He has, however, attempted to form an opinion in the case of each observation of fogs with strong winds during the fifteen years. The total number of fogs with strong winds given in the original paper was 128, but subsequent inquiry has added seven to the list, and the total now given for the fifteen years is 135. Out of this number he thinks that 108 were really cyclonic, while 27 were anti-cyclonic or doubtful. The cyclonic fogs are generally attended with precipitation, which is not a characteristic of anti-cyclonic fogs. Of the 27 cases of anti-cyclonic, or doubtful fogs, 21 were dry. Of the 108 cases of

cyclonic fogs, only 30 were dry, and 78 were either accompanied with, or followed immediately by, rain, the amount being sometimes considerable.

Another feature of these fogs is that they are often attended with temperatures agreeing with the maximum temperature of the day. Out of 108 cyclonic fogs, 61 was thus characterised. This is not found to be the case with ordinary anti-cyclonic fogs. These usually take place with a clear sky above them. These cyclonic fogs sometimes occur with actual gales and sometimes precede rough weather. Mr. Scott is of opinion that they are useful as a prognostic of weather; a fog with quickly falling barometer indicating that a gale is approaching our coasts. As the majority of these fogs occur with south-westerly winds, and they are more prevalent on the south-west coast than anywhere else, Mr Scott concludes that their origin is the Atlantic Ocean. He is of opinion that the phenomenon should not be called fog but rather mist; being in most cases dense rain. The Royal Meteorological Society are, however, still discussing the question of the difference between fog and mist, and are still as far from coming to a conclusion as when distinction between these terms was first suggested.

New Industrial Uses of Carbonic Acid.—The liquefaction of carbonic acid has opened out several industrial uses for this chemical agent. By its means it appears to be possible to preserve butter for some weeks. The butter is placed in a metallic vessel fitted with a tube and stop-cock. Carbonic acid is injected into the vessel at a pressure of six atmospheres and displaces the air. The butter being in an inactive atmosphere remains as fresh as the day it was made, for at least five weeks.

If whey is saturated with carbonic acid it is transformed into an effervescing and refreshing beverage, while it retains its nutritive properties. It can be put into syphons like the ordinary aerated waters and keeps for six weeks.

M. A. d'Arsonval finds that carbonic acid at high pressures will displace various organic and mineral acids. If a tube of silicate of potassium is submitted to its action it is found to be full of silicic acid in a gelatinous state. A solution of iodide of potassium is coloured yellow by the displacement of the iodine. The same result occurs with bromides and chlorides. Sulphuric acid, however, is not displaced by carbonic acid, even at a pressure of forty atmospheres.

E. B.

The meeting of the British Association, which took place in August, was indebted for its success in great measure to the circumstance that it was held at Oxford, and under the Presidency of Lord Salisbury, the Chancellor of the ancient and renowned University. This it was probably that attracted so many foreign *savants*, as well as such a number of English ladies, to the great scientific gathering. Oxford, one of the most remarkable cities in the world, has nevertheless no monster building capable of holding a vast audience easily: the Sheldonian Theatre, where the Presidential address was delivered, holds but a limited number; but those who gained admittance must have been struck by the brilliancy of the spectacle, the doctors and other graduates of the University wearing their full academical costume, and Lord Salisbury himself appearing in his robes as Chancellor. His address, besides the important matter it contained, was composed with good taste and in choice language; and it was delivered with that fine clear voice which he has the happiness of possessing. Commencing by an almost playful allusion to the dilemma in which he was placed, having to act in two capacities, Chancellor and President, he then touched on the great change that had taken place in the tone of feeling since the meeting of the Association at Oxford in 1832, when so amiable a man as Mr. Keble was sorely vexed at the bestowal of the honorary degree of D.C.L. on certain distinguished men of science, such as Brown-Brewster, Faraday, and Dalton; but he thought the antipathy arose from the fact that the University and the Association each taught science, but used the word in different senses—the Oxford sense being that of the knowledge which was so highly prized in the Middle Ages, and which was founded on the teaching of Aristotle: Lord Salisbury alluded also to the stormy meeting of the Association at Oxford in 1860—celebrated for the encounter that occurred between the late Bishop Wilberforce and Professor Huxley; and intimated his opinion that religion and science are not at the present day supposed to be in antagonism with each other, in the sense that questions of religious belief depend on the results of physical research—an opinion, we may observe, that although partially true is not, we fear, quite in accordance with the real facts of the case. He then proceeded to say that whereas former Presidents of the British Association usually gave a history of their own special branch of science, he on the contrary would touch on those points on which our knowledge was still deficient, “the undiscovered country which still remains to be won.”

We believe we are right in supposing that chemistry is a favourite pursuit of Lord Salisbury; and he takes first of the “scientific enigmas”
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which "defy solution" the nature and origin of the elements, of which chemists recognise about sixty-five; and he says, "we cannot conceive, on any possible doctrine of cosmogony, how these sixty-five elements came into existence." There appears to be no foundation for the theory that the atoms of each element consist of so many atoms or half atoms of hydrogen. Nor has spectral analysis, with all its marvellous discoveries, solved our difficulty as to the nature of the atoms; though it "has taught us things of which the world little expected to be told," such as the vast speed with which some of the stars are moving; and it has given us some information about the elementary atoms themselves: we have learnt from it that the elements existing in the sun and stars are mainly those with which we are familiar here on earth; but nitrogen and oxygen, such important terrestrial elements, are absent from the spectrum of the sun; this last fact being a difficulty for those who believe in the nebular hypothesis; Lord Salisbury, however, does not allude to the possibility that these substances, which we think are elementary, may conceivably be dissociated by the high temperature of the sun and appear under some still more elementary forms. The upshot is that the researches of Dalton, Kirchhoff, Mendeléef and others have failed to explain what the atom of each element is, "whether a movement, or a thing, or a vortex, or a point having inertia."

The next subject the address deals with is the *ether*; and it is described not untruly as a "half-discovered entity." It is of course one of the mysteries of science: when the highly probable truth of the undulatory theory of light was fairly recognised, it followed that there must be something to *undulate*; and so "the notion of the ether was conceived." But "even its solitary function of undulating ether performs in an abnormal fashion"; and though it may be true that the undulations which convey light, convey also the electric impulse, this supposition is not without its difficulties. So that the conclusion that Lord Salisbury puts before us seems to be that the very existence of the ether is only a matter of inference, sound and legitimate though that inference may be.

His next instance of the obscurity that still hangs over problems "which the highest intellects have been investigating" is that of life, both animal and vegetable. We do not know what that "vital force" is which causes the whole difference between a really living organism and any artificial production assuming to imitate it. The triumphs of biology have been great, but they "give at present no hope of penetrating the great central mystery."

The latter part of Lord Salisbury's address was the portion calculated to excite controversy. He had already alluded parenthe-

tically to "the comfortable word 'evolution,' one of those indefinite words, from time to time vouchsafed to humanity, which have the gift of alleviating so many perplexities, and masking so many gaps in our knowledge." And he now proceeded to make some criticisms on the theory to which Darwin has given his name; this he did with great tact and ability; he denied none of the conclusions at which modern men of science have arrived, or think they have arrived; he paid a high tribute to the character of Darwin; he admitted the collapse of the doctrine of the immutability of species, and even allowed that animals now separated still more widely may yet have descended from a common ancestor; but he granted no more: the extent to which this common descent can be assumed, and the process by which it has come about, are still doubtful questions. He pointed out some of the principal difficulties against which Darwin's theory of natural selection has to contend: the first being the formidable difficulty, based on astronomical reasons, and leading to the conclusion that there has not been nearly sufficient time since organic life first appeared on the earth, to admit of evolution by natural selection to the extent required for the production of all the various types that we now see; if (as Darwin believed) all animals are descended from at most four or five progenitors. Astronomers hesitate in admitting such an appalling number of millions of years for the past history of the earth, for one or two good and substantial reasons. One reason is drawn from the fact that there has been a minute but sure process going on, owing to the friction of the tides, by which the daily revolution of the earth on its own axis has been (and still is) becoming longer; but this is a process which we cannot suppose to have been in action for such vast periods of time as geologists and biologists imagine, and the date at which the earth assumed its present form as a habitation for living organisms must not be put so far back. The reason, however, on which Lord Salisbury dwells (for he scarcely touches on the one we have just mentioned) is the gradual cooling of the earth from a far higher temperature than that now existing; and he might have added, of the sun also. Lord Kelvin and Professor Tait have called attention to this fact, which—at least so far as the earth is concerned—must be treated as certain; and this being the case, the earth has not been habitable during all the hundreds of millions of years that are required by the Darwinian theory for the work of evolution. Still it must be remembered that the geologists—not without considerable show of reason—maintain a contrary opinion; and Lord Salisbury refrains from any decision other than a verdict of "not proven." He considers in fact that the gravest objection to the doctrine of

natural selection is one which he quotes from an unguarded statement (so at least it strikes us as being) from Professor Weismann in a paper recently published, to the effect that we must accept natural selection "not because we are able to demonstrate the process in detail, not even because we can with more or less ease imagine it," but "because it is the only possible explanation that we can conceive"—and because otherwise we must assume "the help of a principle of design."

This appears, indeed, to be a great confession of weakness, and Lord Salisbury makes the most of it; as a politician he knows the argument well, but it has no place in science. A process which we not only cannot demonstrate in detail but cannot even imagine, is "purely hypothetical." "No man, so far as we know, has ever seen it at work." "No man, or succession of men, have ever observed the whole process in any single case, and certainly no man has ever recorded the observation." The argument drawn from *artificial* selection (which has been so much used) does not here fully apply, as he points out, for there you can select the right mates to produce the required variation, whereas with animals in a state of nature, you are left to chance, so that if the process is to take place at all, you do require an "immeasurable expanse of time." Lord Salisbury then accepts Weismann's dictum that if natural selection be rejected, we must fall back on the mediate or immediate agency of design, and concludes his address with some eloquent words, quoted from Lord Kelvin, alluding to the strong proofs of design lying around us, and "teaching us that all living things depend on one everlasting Creator and Ruler."

The usual vote of thanks to the President was moved by Lord Kelvin in a purely non-contentious speech, in which he observed that there was "a still greater mystery than any which was to be found in connection with any physical science, and that was the mystery of the human will."

The vote was seconded by Professor Huxley, in whom the old combative spirit has not quite died out, but who was obliged to clothe his remarks in the language of compliment, since the etiquette of the British Association forbids any hostile criticism of the President's address. Availing himself then of Lord Salisbury's admission as to the mutability of species and the probable descent of animals, now separated still more widely, from a common ancestry, he welcomed him as a distinguished convert to the doctrine of evolution; and he remarked with some truth that these points were the fundamental principles of evolution, which was not to be confounded with Darwinism.

Lord Salisbury, with some adroitness, in a few brief sentences, acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that Mr. Huxley's observation had confirmed him in the opinion that when men of science seem to differ widely from each other it is because they do not accurately understand the meaning of the words they are respectively using.

There can be no doubt, notwithstanding all the complimentary language appropriate to the occasion, that Lord Salisbury's attack was felt to be a real one: it found an echo moreover to some extent in public opinion, and the biologists of the school of Darwin will probably reply to it. It is of course true that evolution may be held, quite apart from the theory of natural selection, as a probable hypothesis, and that it has been so held by some naturalists; but it is also true that this theory, as expounded by Darwin, Wallace, and others, has appeared to give an intelligible explanation of it, as working by the ordinary laws which for countless ages have governed, and still govern, the physical universe. If you take away this explanation you destroy the backbone of the system of evolution; you do not of course overthrow it altogether, but you limit its operation and you weaken the whole thing to an indefinite extent.

We cannot here discuss at length the difficulties suggested by Lord Salisbury; but the simple fact that during the few thousand years of which we have historical records, evolution *has not been observed* to take place (unless in a very modified sense of the word), seems to us exactly contrary to what we should expect to find if Darwinism were true.

Evolution to a limited extent, and in a qualified sense, and natural selection also, are things that no one need hesitate to admit; but as regards the system as interpreted by the modern biologists, we concur in Lord Salisbury's verdict of "not proven."

The addresses of the presidents of the various sections of the Association were on the whole less interesting than usual to the general public. That of Professor Rücker to the Section of Mathematics and Physics dealt with terrestrial magnetism and the magnetic survey of the United Kingdom, in which Dr. Thorpe and himself had been engaged. The Chemical, Geological, and Biological Sections were presided over by Professor Dixon, Mr. Fletcher, and Professor Huxford respectively, the last named having chosen for his subject the advantage of a system of scientific forestry. Captain Wharton, R.N., hydrographer to the Admiralty, addressed the Geographical Section on some topics of a more popular character—ocean currents, ocean temperature, and the depth of the sea, which last does not generally exceed 4000 fathoms or four sea miles, though in the case

of one sounding, a depth of 4655 fathoms (27,930 feet) has been found: he also touched upon the tides, a much more complicated phenomenon than is commonly supposed.

Professors Bastable, Kennedy, and Schäfer presided over the Sections of Economic Science and Statistics, Mechanical Science, and Physiology respectively; the first mentioned of these made some judicious remarks about "Collective Socialism," a product of the factory and workmen's club, tending to substitute the artificial authority of the State for the natural element of society, the family. The address of Sir W. H. Flower, President of the Section of Anthropology, was of an interesting nature; touching as it did on the study of the modification of the human body under various circumstances of age, sex, race, &c, which is now called anthropometry: and this led to some remarks on the "Bertillon" system (as it is called in France) for identifying criminals by taking exact measurements between certain points of the bony framework of the body, which do not change even under different conditions of life:—a system said to be more effective than photography for this purpose. Sir W. Flower also called attention to a subject lately elaborated by Mr. Francis Galton, namely, that of finger-marks; for it appears that the little ridges and furrows on the under-surface of our fingers are full of significance as distinctive marks of individuals; and he observed that the Tichborne case might have easily been settled (in *theory*, we suppose he means) if Roger Tichborne, before starting on his voyage, had imprinted his thumb on a piece of blackened paper.

In most of the sections there were some important papers read and discussions held: we have not, however, space to notice more than a few of them; some were connected with advanced mathematics, or were otherwise of a strictly technical character: for instance, one on the subject of "integrators" and other similar instruments adapted for calculating the areas enclosed by certain curves.

The announcement of the discovery of a gas hitherto unknown in the atmosphere, made by Lord Rayleigh to the Chemical Section on behalf of himself and Professor Ramsay, was considered to be in some respects the principal event of the meeting. It exists only in a small quantity and is said to be denser than nitrogen.

The most interesting discussion in a popular point of view was perhaps that on Mr. Maxim's Flying Machine. The inventor was himself present, and took part in the proceedings. We confess we were surprised to find that the scientific men who spoke on this question, including Lord Rayleigh and Lord Kelvin, were mostly of opinion that the machine *might* eventually succeed. One or two

expressed considerable doubt, but the general opinion was rather favourable. It is not the absurdity some people imagine it to be nor does it contradict any known law of mechanics; but we are somewhat sceptical as to its practical success, above all as to its being applicable to military purposes, as Mr. Maxim is so sanguine as to expect: for what General would sanction the use of a machine that might probably destroy more of his own men than those of the enemy? In the Biological Section some important papers were read on Evolution and Darwinism: one being by Professor D'Arcy Thompson on "Some Difficulties of Darwinism," in which he discussed the question of the Adequacy of Natural Selection to effect the variations attributed to its action.

On the same day Professor Lodge read to the physicists and chemists (combined) a paper on Clerk Maxwell's theory of light, and on an electrical theory of the action of light on the retina of the eye.

Mr. Devas's paper on the "Identification of Rent and Interest," read before the Economic Section, and one from Mr. Herbert Weld Blundell before the Geographical Section on his expedition to the oases in the Libyan desert, are well deserving of notice. A criticism of Croll's views on the Ice-age, by Mr. Culverwell, excited some interest. There was, however, perhaps no paper more interesting, connected with the discussion that followed it, than one by Professor Rupert Jones, before the geologists and anthropologists (combined) on certain flint instruments that have been found in Kent; and the question arose how far these flints were the work of man and how far that of Nature; also how far their position when found, even if they be admitted to be human handiwork, could be treated as evidence of their age. There is still a difference of opinion on these points; but it is curious to note the reaction that seems to be at least partially setting in against the scientific dogmatism that prevailed thirty years ago, when great stress was laid on these flint implements as proving the antiquity of man on the earth. We do not of course attempt to discuss this important subject, as to which there are other arguments besides the flint-weapons, but we strongly suspect that the hasty conclusions that were formed as to these latter will be seriously shaken as time goes on and fuller investigation takes place.

The next meeting of the Association is to be held at Ipswich, and Sir Douglas Galton is to be the new President.

F. R. W. P.

Nova et Vetera.

THE ROSARY.

THE devotion which the Catholic Church in England before the Reformation had for the Rosary (or as it was then often called the Psalter of Our Lady) is attested by the following poem, written in the fifteenth century, at the end of a MSS. volume of monastic Legenda, and preserved in the British Museum :*

DE ROSARIO BTE MARIE VIRGINIS CARMEN.

Mater Nati mirifici eterni Patris lilium,
 Es Neumatis almifici mirabile triclinium,
 Aurora surgens dulciter, tetros illustrans homines.
 Qui dicunt ave iugiter, dampni non sint participes.
 Rore infunde gracie dicenti sertum roseum ;
 Pro hoc stabis in acie qui fert tuum psalterium.
 In quinquaginta textitur ave sertum virgineum
 In tribus sertis nectitur psalterii triclinium.
 Ad decem ave dic Pater noster cotidie quindecies
 Ut numerum anualiter plagarum X^{ti} celebres.
 Mire prodest psalterium. Scelestis pœnitenciam,
 Lassus dat refrigerium : lugentibus gaudenciam.
 Alligatos alleviat : dura laxans compedia.
 Temptatosque tranquillat, egentes ab inedia :
 Tenorem observantie, religiosi fratribus
 Copiamque scientie devotis dat scholaribus.
 Excludens est pœnalia ; regni et territorii
 Mala fert infernaliam ; pœnasque purgatorii ;
 Rite dictum dæmonibus infert confusibilia
 Sanctis honore omnibus largitur perutilia.
 Ihesu ergo concinnite ut cœlum consequamini
 Marie quoque psallite ad pola ut ductamini.

REPETITIO.

Eia cari ! velle non dispari hinc asseramus iugiter
 Ave Maria gratia, ut ad cœli palacia tendamus persuaviter.

It will be sufficient for the purpose of these pages, if I subjoin a more or less literal translation of the above lines, leaving it open to any reader of this REVIEW, who may possess the required afflatus, to restore the pious thoughts contained in them to the higher realm of poetry :

O Mother of the wonder-working Child, lily of the Eternal Father,
 Thou art the admirable guest-chamber of the purifying Spirit.

* Additional MSS. 6716, f. 142b.

O rising dawn, sweetly lighting up the sinful human race.
 Let not harm reach those who ever bid thee hail.
 Pour down the dew of grace on those who say thy Rosary.
 Be thou defender of all who wear thy psalter.
 In fifty Aves is woven the Virgin's garland.
 In three garlands is linked the triplet of the Rosary.
 For each ten Aves say Pater Noster thrice five times daily.
 Thus the number of Christ's wounds thou wilt honour endlessly.
 Of wondrous profit is the Rosary. To the sinner it brings penance,
 And to the weary, rest, and to the weeping, joy.
 Relieves the captive, loosing from his feet the fetters hard.
 And peace gives to the tempted. From their poverty it lifts the
 poor.

To religious brethren it gives fervour of observance,
 And to scholars devout the plentiness of knowledge.
 Punishment it averts; from country and from kingdom.
 Keeps hellish evils and purgatory's pains.
 Devoutly said, it carries confusion to the devils.
 While with honour to all Saints it bringeth profit.
 Sing therefore, to Jesu, that Heaven thou mayst obtain
 And sing to Mary also, that thither thou mayst be guided.

REFRAIN.

Come then! dear ones, with will that wearies not,
 Let us unceasing say
 "Hail Mary full of grace."
 That to the Heavenly place
 We may sweetly tend our way.

In this same MS., immediately preceding the above, there is written, evidently by the same author, or some one much influenced by him, a species of Acrostic, or as the writer calls it, a "most true Etymology." Apparently distrustful of the intelligence of the reader, he is careful to put its significance beyond all possibility of mistake by the line of large letters in the margin:

Sequitur decem Privilegia
 Psalterii Beate Marie Virginis
 secundum verissimam eiusdem
 Nominis mirifici Ethimologiam pro
 Beate Marie veneratione
 sertissimam.

Primo sui	Psalterii est prestans peccatoribus poenitentiam	. qz	P
Secundo.	Sicientibus Stillans Satiacionem . . . .	. qz	S
Tertio.	Alligatos Alliciens Absolutionem . . . .	. qz	A
Quarto.	Lugientibus Linquens Leticiam . . . .	. qz	L
Quinto.	Temptatis Tradens Tranquillitatem . . . .	. qz	T
Sexto.	Egenorum Expellens Egestatem . . . .	. qz	E
Septimo.	Religiosis Reddens Reformationem . . . .	. qz	R
Octavo.	Ignorantibus Indicens Intelligentiam . . . .	. qz	I
Nono.	Vivis Vincens Vastationem . . . .	. qz	V
Decimo.	Mortuis Mittens Misericordiam . . . .	. qz	M

In translating this, the acrostic element to which the ancient author attaches so much value, of course, disappears.

Here follow the ten benefits
of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary
According to a most true Etymology of the
wonderful name of the same, and
most profitable for the veneration of Blessed Mary.

First, the Rosary gives repentance to sinners.
Secondly. It gives to those who desire, that which they long for.
Thirdly. It obtains freedom for the captive.
Fourthly. It brings joy to the mournful.
Fifthly. It gives peace to the tempted.
Sixthly. It relieves the want of the poor.
Seventhly. It works the reformation of religious.
Eighthly. It gives knowledge to the ignorant.
Ninthly. It overcomes the calamities of the living.
Tenthly. It obtains mercy for the dead.

We can well imagine that the pious fifteenth century author would tell us that our translation is a poor one at the best, and that we have fairly succeeded in spoiling his work and in robbing it of its chief charm in leaving all the alliterative ingenuity of his beautiful "acrostic" in the original Latin behind us. If so, we might make some amends and recover the acrostic by departing from the translation. For instance, we could even imagine a preacher or a devout client of the Rosary in our own day taking the author for his master, and fixing a few of the advantages of the devotion in his mind by some such mnemonic as the following :

The Rosary renders Relief to the Repentant . . .	which is R
It Obtains Order and Obedience for the Obdurate . . .	which is O
It Soothes the Sadness of the Sorrowful . . .	which is S
It Allays the Anxiety of the Anguished . . .	which is A
It Restores Repose to Restless . . .	which is R
It Yields You the grace which You Yearn for . . .	which is Y

The reader will feel that he could have made ten like that for himself, and all of them much more successfully, and that the above is a terrible sacrifice of substance to form ; but at least such an example may serve to give a clearer idea of the purpose of the "most true etymology," and of its usefulness to the English Catholic people at a time when books were relatively few, and the masses were taught to read from their memory.* For an admirable description of a

* On the same page the author recommends the following pious practice. He takes the first fifteen letters of the alphabet. He attaches to each an adjective in the superlative relating to God (Amantissime, Benignissime, Clementissime, Dulcissime, Elegantissime, Familiarissime, Gloriosissime, Honorabilissime, Innocentissime, Karissime, Laudabilissime, Misericordissime, Nobilissime, Omnipotentissime, Piissime). He then adds, "Join to these fifteen adjectives 'O Jesu,' with an uplifting of the heart (suspirio) and a prayer to share in some measure in these qualities of thy God."

a fifteenth-century Rosary Book, I would refer all who are interested in the history of the devotion, to an article by the Rev. Fr. A. Gasquet, O.S.B., in the *Downside Review* of December 1893.

In the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, when the shadow of the penal laws still hung heavily over the land, there were devoted missionaries busy at their work, and here and there doing their best to maintain the old tradition of English devotion to the Rosary.

Amongst the MSS. in the British Museum are the transcripts of the register of a certain Dominican friar, Father James Dominic Derbyshire, who laboured in this country between the years 1727 and 1755.* Apparently, the good father had for his base of operations three Catholic centres in Lancashire, Suffolk, and Devonshire. He kept a register of the names of the persons he baptized, and to save the trouble of keeping a second book, he entered amongst the baptisms, just as they came, the names of those whom he enrolled in the Confraternity of the Rosary. But the more easily to pick out the latter, he carefully put in the margin opposite the name of the person enrolled, a circle of small o's to represent a rosary. He also added the number of the enrolment. I suppose none of our bishops in making their visitations would tolerate such a system of keeping registers nowadays, but those were times when priests were only emerging from a condition of things in which they well might hesitate to put anything in writing. Even then, Fr. Derbyshire seems to have shrunk from making the entries in English, or even in Latin, for he has taken the precaution of writing them in Flemish.

The MSS. volume is entitled

The Register of Baptisms, Marriages, admissions into the Confraternity of the Rosary, &c. kept by the Rev. Fr. James Dominic Derbyshire, O.P., Roman Catholic chaplain at Standish Hall, Lancashire, Gifford Hall, Suffolk, and Ugbrooke Park, near Chudleigh in Devonshire, from the year 1727 to 1755, transcribed from the original.

I copy the beginning, and, as a sample, a few of the entries.

Een Bocksten van de gedoopten & ingeschreven in het Roosencrans by Ja. Derbyshire 1728.†

* Additional MSS. No. 32632.

† A small book of the baptized and the enrolled in the Rosary by Ja. Derbyshire, 1728.

July 28, 1728. I have baptized Ann Brown, daughter of Alexander Brown, in the parish of Standish. The godmother was N. Taylor, daughter of Oliver Taylor, of the same parish.

¹○ Aug. 15, 1728. Enrolled Maria Radcliff: present Ann Clarisse of Roan.

Jan. 8, 1728^s. I have baptized Thomas Spaal, the son of N. Spaal, of the parish of ———, by Ipswich. Mrs. Baldwin, grandmother of the child was godmother, and her son Robert was godfather.

July 28, 1728. Ick hebbe gedoopt Ann Brown, dochter van Alexander Brown van Standish parochie; de Meter was N. Taylor, dochter van Oliver Taylor, van de selve parochie.

¹○ Aug. 15, 1728. Ingeschreven Maria Radcliff; legenwoordigh Anne Clarisse tot Roan.

Jan. 8, 172⁸₉. Ick hebb gedoopt Thomas Spaal den sone van N. Spaal, van de p'rochie van — by Ipswich. Jouff Baldwin, Groetmeter van het kindt was Meter & haen sone Robert was Peter.

²○ Aug. 4, 1729. Ingeschreven my lady Frances Mannock.

³○ May 17, 1730. Ingeschreven Ursula Pashley.

⁴○ May 18, 1730. Ingeschreven Mrs. Mary Ram & Mrs. Juliana Cawell.

⁵ May 24. Ingeschreven Elizabeth Taylor.

⁶○ May 31. Ingeschreven Mrs. Mary Bogis van Boxford.

⁷○ June 11. Ingeschreven Mrs. Mary Baldwin.
Mrs. Ann Spaal.⁸
Mrs. Francis Osburn.⁹

After a number of Baptisms, come the following entries :

Aug. 9. Ingeschreven Edmond Gardener.¹³

April 30, 1733. Ingeschreven Catherine Wilkinson tot Wiggan.
(at Wigan.)

Altogether in the earlier part of this register there are some forty-four names. These are faithful English Catholics, the grandfathers of whose grandfathers said their rosaries in the days of Queen Mary, and the grandchildren of whose grandchildren are living—perhaps saying their rosary—at the present time.

How widely would these early eighteenth-century Catholics have opened their eyes in rapturous surprise could they have beheld in spirit the vision of the Catholic Church in England as she stands at the present day ! Who shall say that less would be *our* joy and wonderment were it given to us to behold the Catholic Church in England as she will stand before this country some two centuries to come ?

J. MOYES,

THE BIDDING OF THE BEDES.

IN describing this well-known feature of Catholic worship in the English pre-Reformation Church, certain writers, while seeking to trace its origin in earlier Eastern liturgies, have asserted that it was entirely absent from the formularies of the Church in Rome. This is counted upon as an indication that the English liturgical forms have their derivation from Eastern rather than from Roman

sources. A simple investigation of the data will show how far this theory is justified by facts.

1. Let us first divest the term of a certain ambiguity. The Bidding Prayer may mean :

- (a) The Bidding Prayer as used in the fifteenth century and found in manuals, &c., of that date.
- (b) The ritual institution of Bidding Prayer, the thing itself—viz., a form of prayer so arranged that an ecclesiastical person “bids” the people pray for a variety of objects in succession, to each of which “biddings” the people respond by a prayer, commonly a short ejaculation (strictly speaking, there is no reason why this class should not include a “bid” and a prayer recited by one person only in the name of the rest).

In the sense of (a) the Bidding Prayer is commonly said to have been unknown in Rome.

In the sense of (b) the Bidding Prayer is a feature of all liturgies, Eastern and Western. The Greek Ectene, the Roman Litany (in its last part), the solemn prayers of Good Friday, the prayers in the ancient Litany form at Milan on the Sundays of Lent, are all Bidding Prayers. (To my mind, it is quite a question whether the fourteenth and fifteenth century Bidding Prayer does not come historically from the Roman Litany rather than from anything else.)

2. The statement to which I have referred rests largely upon the ignoring of considerations of historical facts. The Bidding Prayer, like all other ecclesiastical institutions, has in the course of ages passed through a succession of different phases. Even parts of the Divine service which have not to us at the present day the appearance of belonging to the class of prayer commonly known as Bidding Prayer, are really representatives of it, and it is possible to put one's finger even on the very time, place, and persons concerned in the change. Who, for instance, unless the story were told would ever look upon the *Preces* of our modern Roman Breviary as a Bidding Prayer? And yet it is so.

In the Eastern Liturgies, the old form of Bidding Prayer is maintained, it is believed, practically unaltered from probably the fifth century. In the West, it has become a less prominent feature, not as the result specifically of Roman influence, but as the change from genuine Bidding Prayer to *preces* in the office shows, rather as the outcome of our character as Westerns.*

* This change took place in Gaul in the sixth century, and was adopted in the same century in Irish circles.

3. It may be of interest to state here the conclusion arrived at, on this point, by the well-known author of the "*Liber Pontificalis*," the Abbé Duchesne.

(1) He points out that the Kyrie of the Mass is a relic of the Bidding Prayer.

The Kyrie Eleison (of the Roman Mass) must be considered as the remains of the liturgical prayer or dialogue between one of the sacred ministers and the whole of the assisting assembly [*i.e.*, Bidding Prayer].

The Liturgy of Constantinople contains a Litany at the commencement of the Mass, before the entry of the celebrants. At Rome, it appears that this litany had anciently formed the opening part of the liturgy. It was the rule in the eighth century that on days of Litany (*i.e.*, the days on which there was a general procession from the Church of the Station) neither the *Kyrie* nor the *Gloria* was chanted at the Mass; and the service opened by the *Pax Vobiscum* and the Collect. In the same way, the *Kyrie* was omitted on days of Ordination, because the Litany was sung after the Gradual. Again, at the present day, the *Kyrie eleison* by which the Mass of Holy Saturday opens is nothing else than the conclusion of the litany which is sung at the commencement of this Mass.

St. Gregory testifies that in his time the words *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*, were, except in the daily Masses, accompanied by other formulas, doubtlessly a litany, more or less extended (Ep. ix. 12). "*In quotidianis missis aliqua quae dici solent [i.e. at Solemn Mass] tacemus, tantummodo Kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.*"

This seems to imply that on solemn days there was just such a Bidding Prayer said in Rome as we now find at the beginning of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the response being *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*.

(2) The Abbé Duchesne continues:

The Litany of the Saints now in use has handed down to us this ancient form* of the prayer in form of dialogue such as it was said in the Roman Church.† No doubt it has undergone many developments, especially in its first part, which contains the invocation of the saints.‡ But the end, the part in which the response is *Te rogamus audi nos*, has a character altogether ancient; it resembles much the litanic prayers used by the Greek Church.§ Although it is not evidenced by the texts of the eighth century,|| it is probable that it goes back to a much earlier date.

The suggestion here made, though not clearly, by the Abbé

* N.B. "form" not words.

† *i.e.*, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

‡ Unfortunately no one has given us a history of the Roman Litany, or examined the question as to when this invocation of the saints and the portion immediately following, to which the response is *Libera nos*, &c., were added to the primitive kernel. It is likely to have been in the seventh or eighth centuries.

§ Also in other Western rites. See Observations and Table at end.

|| We have no manuscripts giving the text at any date earlier than the eighth century.

uchesne, at this point, is also that the Roman form of response in place of the Greek fashion *Kyrie eleison* was "*Te rogamus, &c.*," and this suggestion is countenanced by the further consideration of the special way in which the *Kyrie eleison* is used in the Roman rite, viz.:

It is evident that the co-ordination of the *Kyrie eleison* with the litany did not take place at Rome in the same way as in the Eastern Churches. At Rome this invocation is placed at the beginning and at the end of the litany.

In the East it is one of the two essential parts of the Litany—it is the people's response to the deacon's bid, like the *Te rogamus* of our Litany. In Rome, the *Kyrie* stands *outside* the Litany, as it were, like an adjunct. Moreover, in the Roman rite, the *Kyrie* is sung alternately by the cantors and the people.

St. Gregory already remarked this difference. Ep. ix. 12: *Kyrie eleison* item, nos neque diximus, neque dicimus* sicut a Graecis dicitur, quia a Graeciis [so in Duchesne] simul omnes dicunt; apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur.

Now, what is the explanation of the *Kyrie* being outside the Roman Litany, so as to be, with us, in such a way as not to be a bidding Prayer at all? For the deacon to say *Kyrie eleison* is no *al*; for the people to say it after him is no response.

We find the explanation given by Duchesne to the following effect:

At Rome the *Kyrie eleison* is adventitious—that is to say, it is merely borrowed, and is no part of the Roman rite as developed in Rome—as it is indeed in all parts of the West. And the Roman imitation of the East in this particular of saying *Kyrie eleison* seems to have been the main determinant for other Churches to adopt it also—at least for those of Gaul, as appears by Canon 3 of the Council of Vaison in 529: "Quia tam in sede Apostolica quam in Italia per totas orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimium venerabilis consuetudo est intromissa," it enacts that the *Kyrie eleison* be sung in the Churches of the Province of Arles, where it was not hitherto known. And accordingly, at the expiration of the Gallican Mass by Germanus at the close of the sixth century, we find the *Kyrie eleison* near the beginning of the Mass.

But the Roman bidding prayer had already its own termination. They could not suppress the formula, '*Te rogamus audi nos*,' which always in the Roman Litany the same part as the *Kyrie eleison* in the

* "*Diximus*," i.e., it is not an old Roman practice; "*dicimus*," i.e., nor have I made any alteration in this respect.

Greek Litany. It was necessary to find for the latter another place. A rather strange thing happened. The *Kyrie*, which was more modern at Rome than the Litany, kept its place in the service of the Mass, while the Litany, more ancient than it, was all but eliminated from it" (p. 158).

(3) Turning now to the Gallican Liturgy, we have already seen that the *Kyrie eleison* was introduced into Gaul in imitation of Rome in the sixth century. At Rome, this innovation, borrowed from the East, was brought into at least some relation with the Litany, the old Roman Bidding Prayer. In the Gallican rite, however, it was allowed to stand still more clearly as a mere *ajoute*, being put into the Mass much as we have the *Kyrie* there now. The *Kyrie* in Gaul is no part of the Gallican Bidding Prayer; for this we have to seek wholly elsewhere.

The Gallican rite had its bidding prayer (or at least this is the only one of which we can now discover any trace) immediately after the sermon (which itself followed the Gospel) and before the dismissal of the Catechumens.* The text, however, is not extant in any of the Gallican Missals. But the Stowe Missal preserves a text which was probably very much like the texts used in Gaul. Duchesne says it seems nothing but "a translation of a Greek text," but he qualifies this by adding that the "text does not correspond exactly with any of the known Greek Litanies, but it is divided in the same order and composed in the same style" (p. 191). For the Stowe text, see table given below.

(4) As for the Mozarabic, Duchesne says, "A prayer in the form of a litany, but composed for the use of public penitents, is to be found in the Mozarabic liturgy for the Sundays in Lent between the reading of the Prophets and the Epistle" (p. 189). The earliest MSS. date from the tenth century, though they doubtlessly represent correctly enough the practice of an earlier period. All that can be said is that the prayer in litany form mentioned here by Duchesne, may be a relic of a genuine Liturgical Bidding Prayer like that in the Stowe Missal, the (old) Roman Litany, the Constantinopolitan Ectene, &c. But the traces are only slight: Out of the ten or a dozen invocations, at most one or two do not refer to the penitents and are of a general cast. But the fact that these Litany-prayers are found in the *Sundays of Lent* is interesting for the following

* So also is its place in the "Liturgy of St. Chrysostom." In the Apostolic Constitutions it is after the dismissal of the Catechumens, &c. In the Liturgy of St. James all trace of dismissal of Catechumens has already disappeared, so we cannot say whether in that Liturgy the Bidding Prayer came before or after the Catechumens went.

reason. In the Ambrosian on Sundays of Lent there is at the beginning of the Mass a genuine Bidding Prayer quite of the old style (it is still in use). The earliest MS. extant is of the tenth century. I copy the text below in parallel columns with those of Stowe and the *To Rogamus* part of our actual Litany of the Saints. The reader thus may see the close connection of these Bidding Prayers, and be still able better to appreciate the precise value of the statement that the Bidding Prayer was unknown at Rome.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE FOREGOING.

(Responses are omitted as irrelevant to present purpose.)

STOWE MISSAL BIDDING PRAYER.	AMBROSIAN.	PRESENT ROMAN LITANY.
1. Pro altissima pace et tranquillitate temporum nostrorum, pro sancta Ecclesia Catholica, quæ a finibus usque ad terminos orbis terræ. (<i>Roman 1</i>)	1. Pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica quæ hic et per universum orbem diffusa est. (<i>Roman 1.</i>)	1. Ut Ecclesiam tuam sanctam regere et conservare digneris.
2. Pro pastore nostro episcopo, et omnibus episcopis et presbiteris et diaconis et omni clero. (<i>Rom. 1.</i>)	2. Pro Papa nostro M. et omni clero eius omnibusque sacerdotibus ac ministris. (<i>Rom. 1.</i>)	2. Ut Domnum Apostolicum et omnes ecclesiasticos ordines in sancta religione conservare digneris.
3. Pro hoc loco et habitantibus in eo. Pro piissimis Imperatoribus et omni Romano exercitu. (<i>Rom. 4 & 6.</i>)	3. Pro famulo tuo illo Imperatore . . . et omni exercitu eorum. (<i>Rom. 4.</i>)	3. No parallel.
4. Pro omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt. Pro virginibus, viduis et orphanis.	4. Pro pace Ecclesiarum, vocatione gentium et quiete populorum. (<i>Rom. 5.</i>)	4. Ut regibus et principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris.
5. Pro peregrinantibus, et iter agentibus ac navigantibus et penitentibus et Catechumenis.	5. Pro plebe hac et conversatione eius, omnibusque habitantibus in ea. (<i>Rom. 6.</i>)	5. Ut cuncto populo Christiano pacem et unitatem largiri digneris.
6. Pro his qui in Sancta Ecclesia fructus misericordiae largiuntur.	6. Pro aerum temperie ac fructu et fecunditate terrarum. (<i>Rom. 10.</i>)	6. Ut nosmetipsos in tuo sancto servitio confortare et conservare digneris.

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| <p>7. Sanctorum Apostolorum et Martyrum memores simus, ut orantibus eis pronobis veniam mereamur.</p> <p>8. Christianum et pacificum nobis finem concedi a Domino precemur. (<i>Cf. Rom. 6 & 5.</i>)</p> <p>9. Et Divinum in nobis permanere vinculum caritatis sanctum Dominum deprecemur.</p> <p>10. Conservare sanctitatem et Catholicam fidei puritatem Dominum deprecemur.</p> | <p>7. Pro virginibus, viduis et orfanis, captivis et poenitentibus.</p> <p>8. Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus et vinculis, in metalli, in exiliis constitutis.</p> <p>8. Pro his qui diversis infirmitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis.</p> <p>10. Pro his qui in sancta ecclesia fructus misericordiae largiuntur, exaudi nos, Deus, in omni oratione et deprecatione nostra.</p> <p>Domine miserere. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison (apparently chanted by all).</p> | <p>7. No parallel.</p> <p>8. No parallel.</p> <p>9. No parallel.</p> <p>10. Ut fructus terrae dare et conservare digneris.</p> |
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EDMUND BISHOP.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Sir Gerald Portal on Uganda.—The volume of the late Commissioner to Uganda,* combined with his Parliamentary Report, give the latest and most authentic account of that country and the way thither. The number of its population has, he thinks, been much exaggerated, and he accepts Mgr. Hirth's calculation, based on carefully collected statistics, that its limits lie between 450,000 and half a million, as probably accurate. The main distinction of race is that between the Waganda, originally conquerors from the north, perhaps from Abyssinia, debased by intermarriage to a type morally and physically scarcely distinguishable from that of the negro, and the Wahuma, a pastoral people, who are tall and beautifully proportioned with brilliant teeth, velvety brown skin, and clear hazel eyes. The area of Uganda the author estimates at 15,000 to 16,000 square miles, approximately that of Switzerland, and it consists of a strip of land some sixty miles in width, enclosing Lake Victoria for a distance of perhaps 120 miles on its northern and 100 miles on its western shore. It is a region of flat-topped hills, from 300 to 600 feet high, separated by swamps, through which sluggish streams struggle along beds choked by dense growths of rushes, papyrus and other marsh vegetation. The hills are clothed with verdure to which frequent banana groves lend an aspect of tropical luxuriance, but these are in reality separated by tracts of elephant grass growing in a close tangle of cane-like stems some 15 or 16 feet high, forming a thicket impenetrable to anything between an elephant and a field-mouse. Lying directly under the Line, it has a very equable climate throughout the year, though from its height of 4000 feet above the sea, the diurnal range is considerable, and blankets are desirable at night, though the days are very hot. There is no regular rainy season, but scarcely a day passes without a thunderstorm. The subdivision of authority through numerous grades multiplies the number of oppressors of the unfortunate people, as each tyrant exacts a large percentage of the dues levied from them. The barbarous cruelties which accompanied their extortions have, however, been much mitigated by the influence of the missionaries of both parties.

* "The British Mission to Uganda in 1893." By Sir Gerald Portal. London: Edward Arnold. 1894.

The Route to Uganda.—The route from Mombasa to Uganda, followed by Sir Gerald Portal and his caravan, has the serious drawback as compared with that through the German territory, of passing through a much more barren region where the transport of food becomes a serious difficulty. The first of these barriers is the Taro Plain not very far from the coast, where a tract of thirty-seven miles without a drop of water has to be crossed by forced marches, winding up with a mountain ascent at the end. The second is near the end of the journey, and consists of a foodless and uninhabited region extending for 280 miles from Kikuyu to Kavirondo, necessitating the transport of a very large supply from the former country. Fortunately it is exceptionally fertile, and inhabited by a population, who, though treacherous and often hostile to travellers, are most industrious farmers, raising crops of sweet potatoes, corn, beans, and other produce, of far higher quality than those of their neighbours. They seem to love digging and delving for its own sake, as they grow far more produce than they can either consume or dispose of, so that they do not object to passing caravans helping themselves freely to a surplus, which otherwise would go to seed on the ground. On the other hand, by their mania for cultivation, they are rapidly disforesting the country, as they constantly take up fresh land for their crops. This part of Africa, lying from 4000 to 7000 feet above the sea, is eminently suited to white settlement, and grows the fruits and vegetables of temperate and tropical regions with impartial luxuriance. It is separated from the central plateau by what geographers term the great meridional rift, a volcanic depression running nearly north and south and occupied by a chain of lakes. Its western rampart is formed by the Mau Mountains, on which, at the height of nearly 9000 feet, the temperature at night falls below freezing, causing much suffering and generally some fatal cases of illness from exposure among the insufficiently clad native porters. The watershed of the Nile is here crossed, and after a descent partly through dense forest, the exuberant rolling downs that border the Victoria Nyanza are reached in Kavirondo on its north-eastern shore. From this land of plenty, which the writer opines may one day become the granary of far-distant regions, the march lay through Usoga, described as "a land of fine trees, of endless banana gardens, of cool shade and intelligent-looking, chocolate-coloured people, completely clothed from head to foot in graceful togas of bark-cloth." Here the caravan was supplied with all descriptions of food with the most lavish generosity, bananas being brought in vast bunches in the green unripe stage at which they are cooked as a vegetable. The Nile forms the boundary of this hospitable

country, and when it is crossed near the Ripon Falls, Uganda is entered.

Transport in East Africa.—Sir Gerald Portal points out that the first step towards making Central Africa accessible must be the substitution of animal transport for that by carriers, and believes that there is no insuperable difficulty in doing this. The two ponies taken with the expedition were in perfect health the entire way, and though the coast is unhealthy for horses and mules there is no evidence that the interior is so. Camels, too, have never had a fair trial, as they have been managed by drivers ignorant of their wants, and the donkeys commonly used are overloaded and underfed. The zebra, the horse of the country, Captain Lugard believes capable of domestication, adducing the instance of the team stated to have been broken in to draw a coach at Johannesburg. The present system leads to great hardship and cruelty, in the abandonment of disabled porters by the way, and in the want of provision both for illness and for their clothing in crossing the Mau Mountains. To obviate these evils a system of registration is urgently required, as well as regulations rendering compulsory the supply of a certain amount of extra clothing, the provision of some spare carriers to relieve the sick, arrangements prescribed by ordinary humanity. The carrying power of some of the porters is prodigious, and the author gives an interesting account of an ivory caravan encountered in Kikuyu, on its way to the coast with 15,000 lbs. of ivory. The owner had a parade of his "strong men" for him, at which "some twenty grand specimens of black humanity came forward, each seized a tusk of over 80 lbs. in weight, with a Hercules at their head carrying the gigantic one of 140 lbs. As though they had feathers on their shoulders, these men fell into line, and then actually proceeded to dance under a weight that would deprive most average Englishmen of the power of motion. Round and round in a large circle they danced, singing a weird monotonous chant, from time to time, on a signal from their leader, swinging the great ivories from one shoulder to the other, the muscles standing out on their necks and backs in great solid lumps glistening in the sun." For five or six hours a day, week after week, they would have to carry these crushing weights through swamp and morass for the long march of 800 miles from Uganda to the coast. Sir Gerald's return route was by the Tana River, with a view to exploring its possibilities in facilitating the journey, but the grand stream runs through trackless jungle, and its navigation is impeded by cataracts and rapids.

Explorations in Kafiristan.—Dr. Robertson, at the evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on June 25th, described his unique experiences as an English traveller in Kafiristan. Those little-known uplands lying amid the southern buttresses of the western Hindu Khush, have till now been barely grazed by exploration, and no foreigner had previously penetrated their inner folds, or come into close contact with the life of their jealously exclusive inhabitants. Their name Kafirs, implies, that though now professing the faith of Islam, they were original infidels among a Mohammedan population, and tradition ascribes their origin to a colony of the soldiers of Alexander the Great. Their principal pursuit is raiding caravans near their borders, on which they make organised attacks, returning in triumph with the pillage if successful. They celebrate their victory in a prolonged series of dances in honour of the war-god, the principal object of their worship, exulting in the loss inflicted on the enemy, and in their own prowess. Although extremely quarrelsome among themselves, the killing of one member of the community by another is visited with the severest penalties, probably on account of the loss of fighting strength thereby inflicted on the tribe. The slayer is driven away from his home into life-long exile, while his house is burnt and his property laid waste. Hence bystanders, men, women, and even children will recklessly expose their own lives by throwing themselves between a pair of combatants in order to avert bloodshed. They are polygamists, and the process of courtship consists entirely in the payment of a certain number of cows for the bride, who remains in her father's custody until the full amount of the claim has been satisfied. All agricultural labour is performed by the women, and one of the interesting drawings with which the lecture was illustrated, represented a woman guiding the plough drawn by a diminutive ox. The vegetation in the valleys is luxuriant, wild grapes and pomegranates flourishing exuberantly, while splendid shade trees, horse-chestnuts in particular, clothe the mountain slopes. The main valleys from which subsidiary glens and ravines rise steeply to the higher levels are cut off from all intercommunication during the winter months, and are at other times accessible only by tracks so rough that they seem adapted for goats or chamois rather than for human beings.

The English Polar Expedition.—Mr. Jackson, on the eve of his start for the polar regions, addressed the Royal Geographical Society on Monday evening, June 25th, and his ship and stores were subsequently inspected by visitors in Shadwell Basin. The

"Windward," a Peterhead whaler, a barque rigged screw-steamer of 400 tons measurement, is to convey the adventurous party of eight to their base on the southern coast of Franz Josef Land, which they hoped to reach on August 23rd. There the "Windward" will leave them, to return in search of them in the summer of 1896. They expect to be able to advance in successive stages some 600 or 700 miles inland, establishing a line of depôts each more remote than the other. Their means of locomotion are provided by eighteen sledges combining great lightness with strength, and each capable of carrying 1000 lbs. weight. An aluminium boat weighing only 150 lbs., but capable of carrying from thirteen to twenty people, and constructed with great ingenuity, forms part of the equipment, as do a copper boat built on the same lines and weighing 198 lbs. and three Norwegian boats which can also be used as sledges. Siberian ponies will be taken, and a pack of dogs will be ready for the expedition at Archangel. The supply of provisions is sufficient to last four years on full rations, or seven years on half rations. In addition to these resources, rifles, shot guns, harpoons and fishing tackle are expected to furnish fresh meat from the abundance of game with which Mr. Leigh Smith described Franz Josef Land as swarming. Mr. Jackson's seven companions are all tried men, possessed of special qualifications for the various classes of work they have undertaken. The expedition sailed on July 12th, and expected to reach Archangel in seventeen days.

The Wellman Expedition.—The only news received of this party of American Arctic explorers gives rise to apprehensions of a disaster. The "Saide" of the Royal Yacht Squadron, touched on July 6th at Danes Island, near Spitzbergen, and found there Mr. Oyen, the geologist, left by Mr. Wellman in charge of the depôt with a single dog as companion. The main party of fifteen, with a crew of nine, had sailed on May 7th in their ship, the "Ragnvald Jarl," for the Seven Islands, promising to return and pick him up in about ten days. Since then nothing has been heard or seen of them, and the Norwegian walrus-hunters are of opinion that the ship has been beset and crushed. The Saide skirted the pack to beyond the 80th parallel, but was there met by heavy ice. Captain Johannesen of the walrus fleet will proceed in search of them as soon as the ice permits, and will in any case bring away Mr. Oyen.

Count - Pfeil on New Mecklenburgh. — Petermann's "Mittheilungen" contains an interesting account of a visit to the long and low island in the South Pacific, some hundreds of miles north-east of New Guinea, known as New Ireland until it passed under German rule. Count Pfeil, one of the few Europeans who has visited this addition to the Vaterland, disembarked on the western shore, and surmounting the central ridge, from which the sea is visible on both sides, descended to the eastern shore, crossing on his way a level tract of bush traversed by a considerable stream. Thence following the shore northwards, he spent some time in a village inhabited by friendly natives. Exploration southward was stopped by a quarrel with the natives, in which two of the traveller's followers were killed. The island is well wooded, and the climate is moist, as the upper slopes of the hills were generally mist-covered. The inhabitants of the centre are invaders, who have driven the original population to the north and south. They represent a higher degree of social advancement, and build neat houses though they wear no clothing. They believe in an invisible god and goddess, the progenitors of mankind, and hold communication with them through their priests. The dead are either burned, or sunk in the sea with a stone at their feet and a bush in their hands, and their souls are supposed to inhabit an adjacent island. These islanders are cannibals, and their women prepare the revolting repast, but are only allowed to partake of it by licking their fingers. They carry on active trading operations, and make voyages, some in hollow trees with an outrigger, some on rafts made of planks lashed together. Their currency is composed of mussel-shells, red, black and white, each colour separately strung, and representing a separate value. The sale of pigs, their only domestic animals, is conducted in a special coin in the form of a disc. The giant *Tridacna* is used for food, the shell when it gapes being prevented from closing by the insertion of a stone or stick, and the inhabitant being then at their mercy. Yams and taros are cultivated, and the pith of the sago palm extracted and prepared. Vegetation is most abundant, rich verdure prevailing everywhere, with mosses, ferns and orchids in profuse variety. Cockatoos and parrots are absent, but the Torres Strait pigeon abounds, as do different kinds of beetles, while butterflies are scarce.

A Recent Visit to Harrar.—A correspondent writing in the *Times* of July 10th, who visited Harrar in 1892, claims to have been the first Englishman to enter it since the Egyptian evacuation in

1881. Its original annexation by Ismail Pasha was effected on the pretext that it was to be used temporarily as a base of operations against Abyssinia, but Egyptian rule once established was made permanent and was justified by the improved prosperity of the place. Its trade was developed and the cultivation of coffee was extensively practised by the "fellahin" who settled there, but all this progress came to an end with the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrison, accompanied by the bulk of the inhabitants. The English having refused to take it over, a member of the former native dynasty, of Arab-Galla extraction, was placed on the throne, to be expelled seven years later, when Menelek, King of Shoa, the present Negus of Abyssinia, marched on it and occupied it without resistance. Its prosperity has since waned as its trade has declined, and the coffee plantations have been cut down for firewood, or left to be overrun by weeds. Under Italian rule it ought again to become a valuable possession, as it has great natural capabilities, and its situation, 7000 feet above the sea, on the spur of the highlands at the back of Somaliland, renders the climate healthy and the heat bearable, although it is within a few degrees of the Equator. The district surrounding it is of exceptional fertility, the coffee and tobacco in particular being of prime quality; the water supply is abundant, and is renewed by a double rainy season in spring and autumn, when a series of heavy thunder showers with bright intervals refresh the vegetation. The nearest port is Zeilah, one of the three in northern Somaliland under British protection. The route thence of about 186 miles, runs for 150 across the plains, the remaining 56 being a steep mountain climb. The early part of the journey offers few features of interest, as the path crosses tracts of sand interspersed with tufts of grass or thorny scrub. The river beds are wide depressions with a selva of forest, and are dry except after the rains, although water is found in them by digging. Jildessa, at the foot of the ascent, is the first spot of permanent habitation reached, and here the scene changes. Running water abounds, towering forests take the place of sand and bush, and the Galla mountains rise to a great height above the plain. The road ascends through forests in which cycamore trees, acacias, and euphorbias are conspicuous, while coffee plantations occupy clearings in the jungle where the hill side is terraced in ledges. At 8200 ft. the mountain rampart is scaled, and the plateau plain is seen spreading far away with a slope to the south. A fine specimen of the table mountain, a formation characteristic of the Abyssinian plateau, is seen among the peaks which bound the expanse. The plain is thickly inhabited, and either cultivated or used for pasture, the forest having disappeared. Harrar is

seen about twelve miles from its edge, "a great yellow town crowned by a whitewashed circular Abyssinian church, built on the site of the old mosque, the minaret of which still remains, for until the advent of the Abyssinians, the Harrar people were one and all Moslems." Its rough stone walls are surrounded by terraced gardens, but the city proper has little of interest except the market held in its principal street attended by specimens of all the native tribes with the varieties of strange hair dressing peculiar to the Gallas.

State of the Soudan.—The capture of Kassala by the Italians on July 17th, deprives the Dervishes of their chief stronghold in the Eastern Soudan. News brought by a caravan from the interior which reached Keren *viâ* Kassala about the same time, show that the Khalifa's position was considered very precarious, and that he himself, like all tyrants, was rendered additionally cruel by suspicion. He had increased his bodyguard, and imposed fresh taxes in order to meet the additional expense of their pay and rations, and had imprisoned and confiscated the property of the Kadi Ahmed, the chief religious authority of Omdurman, on the plea of doubting his allegiance. He was also preparing to reduce the number of horsemen under the Emir Ali, the strongest cavalry corps in the army, doubtless from jealousy of his influence. He had summoned a grand council of chiefs to meet at Omdurman, but little alacrity was shown by them in responding to it; in fact the Emirs of Kassala and Berber, as well as Osman Digna, were very reluctant to go to Khartoum, fearing some mischance.

Notices of Books.

Pilate's Wife. By RICHARD T. HAYWARDEN. London: Burns & Oates.

THE author of this graceful sketch fills up from imagination some of the details of that unseen figure whose shadow falls for a moment across the page of the Evangelist in the narrative of the great tragedy of the world's redemption. We follow with interest any attempt to call up for us the heroine of what we may call the romantic episode of the intervention of Pilate's wife in the trial in the Pretorium. A great Roman lady, who played the part of a vice-queen in Judea, she evidently enjoyed a wife's full privileges, from the confidence with which she addresses a remonstrance to her husband on the discharge of the most momentous functions of his office. Yet this pampered, petted creature, as we imagine her to ourselves, had a spiritual insight denied to most pagans of her time, and could not shut out in her silken chamber the consciousness of the iniquity being wrought under her roof. She may have had some previous knowledge of the mission and teaching of the Nazarene on whose behalf she interceded so vainly; and we would fain hope that, as represented in the pages before us, this movement of feminine compassion was rewarded by conversion to the doctrines He had preached.

Barabbas. By MARIE CORELLI. 8vo, pp. 465. London: Methuen & Co. 1894.

WE must confess to having opened this book with a shudder, fearing to find the dread and sacred tragedy of Calvary travestied by being made the framework of an ordinary novel. But the tender reverence of the treatment and the imaginative beauty of the writing have reconciled us to the daring of the conception, and the conviction is forced on us that even so exalted a subject cannot be made too familiar to us, provided it be presented in the true spirit of Christian faith. This is here the case as regards the main subject, and the only notable deviation from the Gospel narrative is in the interpretation put on the character and motives of Judas Iscariot.

His treachery is ascribed to the wish, not to destroy his Master, but to force His hand, by compelling Him to proclaim Himself by visible miracle, thus hastening the triumph of His cause. To this view he is brought by the influence of his beautiful sister, Judith, the tool of Caiaphas, and evil genius of all who fall under her spell. Among these is Barabbas, a wild and fierce-hearted but not ignoble creature, made the allegorical type of fallen humanity, requiring the chastisement of suffering to awaken it to spiritual truth. Dragged from his cell, ignorant of the fate in store for him, to find himself acclaimed by the mob as their chosen one, he protests against a decision which absolves his guilt in order to condemn the Divine Innocence. A witness of the scenes that follow, he is rewarded by gradual perception of the truth, as earthly passion drops away from him and leaves him to die purified and penitent.

The beauty of the narrative culminates in the description of the Resurrection in a passage of sublime eloquence. The scene at the Sepulchre is realised with extraordinary vividness, and we are made to see the Roman soldiers encamped before it and the military pageantry of the relief of the guard amid the comments of the rude Centurion on the strange task assigned to him. These realistic details form, by contrast, a fitting prelude to the portents which herald the great Event—the singing of a miraculous choir of birds and flowering of the brown earth into a carpet of snowy blossom. Then come the terrific splendours of the illumination of the heavens and descent of the angelic messengers, as “seemingly impelled by wind and fire, they floated meteor-like through space,” and reached the earth, which rocked beneath their touch.

The only jarring note in the narrative is the hostility with which St. Peter is spoken of, but it is rather implied than expressed, and we gladly pass it over amid so much that evokes our admiration. Our Lady is only introduced in two passages of great tenderness, and the utterances of Mary Magdalene are full of beauty and feeling. The amplifications of the Scripture narrative are often conceived with high poetic insight, as in the luminous halo seen by Pilate and Barabbas round the head of the condemned Nazarene, and in the ecstasy felt by the Cyrenean in carrying the Cross. This “*Dream of the World’s Tragedy*,” as it is entitled, is, despite some trifling incongruities, a lofty and not inadequate paraphrase of the supreme climax of inspired narrative.

While the writer does not contend for any continuity of consciousness to connect these different states of being, she adopts the Buddhist belief that the conduct and character of the individual in each is predetermined by the “*karma*,” or sum of moral merit or demerit

acquired during its previous existence. Of course there is no possibility of arguing against such a belief, but we would merely point out what the writer seems to be unaware of—that it is contrary to the whole teaching of Christianity, and subversive of the idea of personal responsibility on which its ethical system depends.

La France Noire. Par MARCEL MONNIER. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1894.

THIS interesting volume is a valuable addition to our rapidly increasing knowledge of countries destined before long to take their place in the great scheme of international polity. Written with the epigrammatic brilliancy which lends so much point to French narrative, it tells the story of the expedition, led by Captain Binger in 1892, to lay down, in combination with an English Commission, the boundary between the French possessions on the Ivory Coast and the British protectorate of the Gold Coast, including the former kingdom of Ashanti. The country in dispute is more prized for its prospective than for its actual value, as it is buried beneath trackless forest, and has but a sparse and apathetic population. The first eighty-four days were passed under dense shade, in an atmosphere poisoned by swampy exhalations and by the pestiferous odour of animal and vegetable decomposition. The more invigorating plateau country then reached has a more energetic population under Mussulman rule, and offering greater possibilities for trade. Gold dust, found in considerable quantities in the ravines, is the principal currency, necessitating its valuation by weight as a preliminary to all payments. Such is the productiveness of the soil in some places that a hectare of bananas yields on an average 200,000 kilogrammes of fruit, and half the crop is left to decay on the trees. The people are so credulous that they believed a successful elephant-hunter to have the power of transforming himself at will into a bush, flower, or bird in order to escape the rage of the wounded animal. As he was hump-backed and hideously ugly, the travellers asked why he did not use his powers of metamorphosis to improve his appearance, a query to which no reply was forthcoming. In the plateau country some of the towns numbered three or four thousand inhabitants, but here the nauseating accumulation of dirt was, if possible, worse than in the forest villages. In the manners of the people there was little to interest, apathy and degradation levelling all distinctions of character or race.

Vom Nil Zum Nebo. Ein Wüstensang von Karl Macke.
Heiligenstadt: F. W. Cordier. 1894.

THE hero of this magnificent poem is Moses, the deliverer, law-giver, and guide of Israel, who leads the chosen people from the Nile through the desert to the frontier of Canaan. He saw the promised land from the top of Mount Nebo over against Jericho, and died without being allowed to enter it. The author describes the chief events of the history of Moses and the children of Israel at his time substantially according to Scripture in twenty songs. The history itself is full of types of Christ, the Church, and the Sacraments, and offers very many analogies to the history of man, his sorrows and trials and divine helps during his pilgrimage through the desert of this life to the promised land of heaven. The author makes frequent use of these types and allegories, and has thus given us a Biblical epos with many lyrical and didactic parts. He evidently knows the Orient and oriental life and literature very well, as is seen in many vivid, and sometimes very grand, descriptions and comparisons, and in all the details.

The Biblical account is often enlarged upon—*e.g.*, with regard to the daughter of Pharaoh, Thermatis, who saved the child Moses and educated him. She meets Moses again after his return to Egypt, and tries in vain to persuade Pharaoh to let the Israelites go out of Egypt. As she professes faith in the true God of Israel, she is banished and cursed by Pharaoh. The eighth song, in which she is the chief figure, recalls all the symbols and doctrines of the Egyptians regarding the future life, and explains them in a Christian sense. In our opinion, this song is a most beautiful one. Even more beautiful still is the tenth song, about the manna and the Blessed Eucharist. The author makes use of an old legend, according to which Paradise still exists in the East on a mountain which cannot be approached by the feet of man. From this mountain God sent to the Israelites the wonderful manna, blown off from the trees of Paradise, and carried away to the desert like snow by the winds. In a similar manner divine grace sends us our manna, the Blessed Eucharist, out of the heavenly Paradise.

The whole is written throughout in trochaic verses. There are four verses to a strophe, and the second and fourth verse rhyme with each other. Great beauty of language and smoothness of verse and rhyme is here combined, with a rare power of poetical description, and an equally rare wealth of thoughts of a refined and thoroughly Catholic, manly, and poetical mind. Dr. Macke's work deserves for its content as well as its form the highest praise. We may add that

the publisher, Cordier in Heiligenstadt, has done his part in a highly artistic manner.

The Ban of Maplethorpe. By E. H. DERING. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.

THIS prettily illustrated tale is likely to be useful as well as entertaining to many readers, as it enforces the foundations of Catholic truth in the controversial discussion carried on between the various characters. It is enlivened by vivid descriptions of country life, and ornamented by some charming illustrations. A touching interest attaches to its publication from the announcement prefixed to it that it was completed only the evening before the death of the author, for whom the prayers of the reader are requested.

Europe's Moods. By A. PITTIE. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1894.

THIS volume contrasts, in the two cantos into which it is divided, the mirthful mood of our Continental neighbours as seen in the *Battle of Flowers* at Nice, with the serious aspects of European politics in the threat to the peace of the world implied in the Franco-Russian alliance. The author's somewhat trite musings on these subjects are versified in fairly fluent doggerel.

Mediæval Records and Sonnets. By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Macmillan. 1893.

THE congenial themes of mediæval piety and heroism could not fail to inspire Mr. de Vere's muse, and this volume is worthy to stand side by side with his "*May Lyrics*." The "*Legends of the Middle Ages*" are narrated in eloquent blank verse, as is the later epic of the *Siege of Orleans*. Hildebrand, St. Francis, Columbus and Copernicus, have each a place in this gallery of poetical types of the Middle Ages, and to the character of each fitting expression has been given. Columbus at Seville in particular is a striking picture of the musings of the dying and disgraced hero. The volume also contains a collection of beautiful sonnets, two of them addressed to Father Damien.

Sherborne. By E. H. DERING. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.

THE principal interest of this spirited controversial novel is a religious one, turning on the mental struggles of those who while internally convinced of the truth of Catholicism, are deterred by worldly motives from joining the Church. To the large number of those in a similar painful position, this powerful picture of its dangers and difficulties should be useful. The author is evidently quite at home in fashionable country-house life, and is especially happy in his animated descriptions of horses.

Kirchen-Lexicon von Wetzer und Welte. Neue Auflage. Begonnen von Cardinal HERGENROETHER, fortgesetzt von Professor KAULEN. Achter Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1894. 8vo. 2118 col.

VOLUME the seventh of this great undertaking has been duly noticed in October issue of the DUBLIN REVIEW 1892. To-day we are able to announce the appearance of volume the eighth comprising the articles extending from *Literæ apostolicæ* to *Mythologie*. Both as regards the names of the learned contributors, the vastness of erudition stored up in every department of theology, the public will not fail to recognise that the present volume merits the high praise of being not inferior to its predecessors. In the science of philosophy we may mention Professor von Hertling's (Munich University) able article on John Locke. It is perhaps to this article that we are indebted for the Professor's recent book (Freiburg: Herder, 1893) on "John Locke and the School of Cambridge." Whoever is familiar with the writings of Locke is aware of the empiricism which pervades his whole system. But the latter likewise exhibits a strong feature of intellectualism, the cause of which is to be traced to the influence exercised upon Locke by the Platonic School of Cambridge. To Professor Stöckl of Eichstätt, Bavaria, we owe the articles on Malebranche, Mensch, Mysticismus, and Stuart Mill. The learned author has given a lucid exposition of Mill's system and the fatal defects inherent in it. F. Gruber, S.J., contributes the pithy article on Materialism, whilst Professor Hagemann (Academy of Münster), in treating on "Materie und Form," seems to display excessive eagerness in emphasising the difficulties commonly brought up against the scholastic system. A thoughtful and suggestive article on "Mystic," comes from the pen of Provost Pruner of Eichstätt. Proceeding to the department of dogmatic

theology, the most remarkable articles are those of Professor Hatzberger (Munich University) on the "Logos" and the "Missio Spiritus." The most lengthy article of the whole volume appears to be Professor Schanz's contribution on "The Messiah." It would be difficult to overrate its value both on account of its classical learning and of its tone of deep Catholic piety. In no way second to it are Professor Kaulin's articles on "Maria, Mutter Gottes," and "Maria im Neuen Testament." Both of them are well worthy of the close attention of theologians and preachers. The article on "Molina," by Canon Morgott, commends itself for its thoroughness to students in dogmatic theology and church history. The same writer in another article has shed fresh light on a learned Scotchman, John Hay, who taught scholastic theology in Paris at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The articles on the domain of ecclesiastical history are of the highest importance. Professor Kihn (Würzburg University) writes upon "Theologische Literatur-Geschichte." The articles on Popes Marcellinus and Miltiades are written by J. Grisar, S.J., who for many years has devoted his studies in Rome to research in the history of the first centuries of Christianity. The important bishoprics have been given due prominence. From amongst articles upon celebrated authors we single out those on "Mabillon," by F. Bäumer, "Angelo Mai," by Cardinal Herkenrother, and "Monta," by several eminent Roman doctors of canon law, amongst whom Pietro de Accoltis, Cardinal and Bishop of Ancona, seems deserving of special mention. As might be expected from Charles V., he is deeply concerned about the position of his Aunt Catherine of Aragon. Dr. Ehse is to be congratulated on his successful researches in the Vatican which have led to the discovery of a number of letters written in Spanish by the Emperor to Clement VII., and which reflect favourably on Charles's character. Contrasted with the coarse language adopted by Henry VIII. in his correspondence with Rome when the result of the process became all but certain, the Emperor's language is cool, dispassionate, and expressive of his firm conviction of the justice of Catherine's cause. For the first time we elicit the fact that Henry VIII. even applied to the famous Pietro Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti (afterwards Paul IV.) for an opinion favourable to his process of divorce. The bishop received the king's agent but disapproved of his divorce, and maintained the marriage with Catherine as lawful. The Emperor, upon being made acquainted with these facts, in a letter dated "Ispruch," May 22, 1530 (p. 269), congratulated the bishop, whose answer to Charles V. is likewise inserted (p. 270).

Dr. Ehse's book may be hailed as one of the most important
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corroborations and vindications of the action of Pope Clement VII. in the momentous case of King Henry's petition for divorce.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Römische Documente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII. von England 1527—1534. Mit Erläuterungen herausgeben von DR. STEPHAN EHSES. Paderborn: Schoeningh. 1893. 8°. xlv. 284 pages.

DR. EHSES, secretary to the historical institute established by the Goerres-Gesellschaft in Rome, presents us with a collection of Roman documents bearing on the divorce of Henry VIII. The number of these amounts to not less than 147. To them are added twenty-two extracts from the correspondence of Giovanni Salviati, Papal legate to the court of France, which for the most part refer to the politics of Wolsey. It is to be remarked that although several of the documents contained in the above collection have been published before, the book, taken as a whole, is possessed of considerable importance. If Theiner's "*Monumenta vetera*," and the contributions to the history of Henry VIII. by Pocock, Brewer, and Gairdner are to be rightly understood by the student of history, they will require to be supplemented or duly corrected by Dr. Ehses's collection. Owing to his familiarity with the Vatican Archives he has succeeded in deciphering the letters of Cardinal Campeggio who resided in England from October 1528 to October 1529 as Papal judge in the divorce process of Henry VIII. The effect is that a large number of documents is now for the first time printed in a full and correct text. We may instance the letter written by Cardinal Campeggio to Jacobo Salviati in Rome from London October 26, 1529. Comparing Theiner's text, pp. 570—574, in the *Monum. Vetera Hibern. et Scotor* with the original deciphered by Ehses, p. 55, the reader suddenly becomes aware that it lacks one of the most important pieces of information ever sent by Campeggio to Rome. It refers to the famous "*bolla de la decretale*" which the Cardinal read before the King and Cardinal Wolsey, but utterly refused to give it out of his hand. Afterwards, by the Pope's command, he destroyed the bull the purport of which had been totally mistaken by Wolsey. Pocock and Brewer are corrected, pages 16, 32, 72, 110, and Mr. Gairdner page 37. The accurate deciphering of Campeggio's letter January 9, 1529, calls for several corrections in the text of Brewer, "*The Reign of Henry VIII.*" vol. ii. p. 480. But besides the critical standpoint and

the copious historical notes attached to each document, we wish to call attention to the editor's introduction as shedding a new light on the bull and the brief by which Julius II., December 26, 1503, granted dispensation to Prince Henry for contracting marriage with his sister-in-law, Princess Catherine of Aragon. The events from which originated the brief are duly considered, its genuineness is placed beyond any doubt, and the fact is fully established that both documents are in perfect harmony. To documents Nos. 19 and 20 a singularly high value is attached, as they contain some deliberations held in the presence of Clement VII. concerning the King's process against his wife. In perusing Campeggio's despatches from London we are struck by two facts. First comes the Queen's unalterable firmness in vindicating her position as Queen of England and legitimate wife of Henry VIII., in declining Campeggio's counsel to retire to a convent, and in appealing to the Holy See for deciding the process in Rome. On the other hand Campeggio is seen incessantly urged by the King to give his sentence with the least possible delay. One of the most remarkable expressions of the Legate on this point is deciphered by Dr. Ehses, p. 110, but is lacking in Theiner's "*Monumenta*," p. 587. An excellent and impartial survey of the transactions in the process is furnished in a papal document, p. 150. Next we may point out the extracts taken from consistorial acts and the opinions on the petition of King Henry presented to the Pope by Montalembert, by F. Brumgartner, S.J. Amongst the articles which deal with English history, F. Zimmermann, Ditton Hall, has written articles on "St. Malachias," "Morgair," "Lollarden," "London," "Queen Mary," and "Methowen." The writer has contributed the articles on "Peter Lombard," "Archbishop of Armagh," "Cardinal Manning," "Mary Queen of Scots," and "Milton." It is to be regretted that the writer of the otherwise able article on "Blessed Thomas More" has not taken note of F. Bridgett's scholarly life of the great Chancellor. The whole of this compendious work testifies to the unwearied zeal and erudition of its authors and editors.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss. Seine Geschichte und sein Inhalt. Von SUITBERT BAUMER. Mainz: Kirchheim. 1893. 8vo, viii-240 pages.

ENGLISH Catholics will be already sufficiently acquainted with the fierce controversies which for two years have been carried on amongst German Protestants concerning the Apostles' Creed.

Clergymen, professors of Protestant theology, eminent laymen, have been united in an effort to bring about either its elimination from the solemn liturgy, or the suppression of at least such of its parts as seem to be out of harmony with the development of modern theology. The chief leader in this contest appears to be Adolf Harnack, the well-known Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. What he mainly objects to is the article: Born of the Virgin Mary. His pamphlet on the Apostles' Creed was brought out in twenty-two editions, a fact which in itself is sufficient proof that his antichristian ideas can boast of a large and sympathetic following in Germany. In order to check Professor Harnack's opposition to the Creed, the supreme authority of the Protestant Church in Prussia (Oberkirchenrath) has addressed a circular to the superintendents urging upon them the duty of safeguarding the Creed, but without attributing to each of its articles the importance of a rigid law of teaching. Although these sad disputes amongst German Protestants do not immediately concern the Catholic Church, we could not help wishing that a Catholic divine might come forward as a champion of one of the most venerable symbols of early Christianity. F. Bäumer, Benedictine monk of Beuron, by his excellent work recalls the best traditions of the time-honoured Benedictines of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whether we consider his comprehensive acquaintance with Christian antiquity, or the critical acumen displayed in sifting the arguments proposed by his adversaries, it is a matter of congratulation that in so comparatively brief a space of time he should have succeeded in collecting so vast an amount of materials referring to the Apostles' Creed. English works, both Catholic and Protestant, have been largely laid under contribution. We regret that Father Livius's book, "Mary in the Epistles," apparently has escaped his attention, for he might have suitably employed it (p. 197) in the exposition of the third article of the Creed. After having established the difference between rule of faith, the canon of liturgy, and solemn prayer and symbol or creed, F. Bäumer goes on to inquire into the tradition of the various texts of the Creed. From his minute investigation the fact becomes evident that in A.D. 500 the actual modern form of the Apostles' Creed was employed throughout the Western Church, not excepting the Church of Rome. For F. Bäumer has successfully established the fact that, notwithstanding the Sacramentarium Gelasianum with its creed of Nicæa and Constantinople, the Roman Church from Gelasius down to Charlemagne has constantly used the Apostles' Creed. One of the most convincing proofs of this is found in the action of an Englishman. F. Bäumer refers to the Codex S. Bonifacii, Fulda, containing not a few

"Expositiones symboli Apostolorum et regulæ fidei." The most important part of this suggestive book begins in the fifth chapter, where the author treats upon the form of the Creed as appearing in each century from St. Leo I. back to the time of the Apostles. In the concluding fourteenth chapter he deals with the sources or origins of the Apostles' Creed in the writings of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Aristoteles-Lexikon. Von Dr. MATTHIAS KAPPES. 8vo, 70 pp. Paderborn: Schöningh. 1894.

NULLUM fere erst nomen a philosophis frequentatum, quin ad Aristotelem redeat," says the late Professor Trendelenburg, one of those scholars who have successfully laboured for re-establishing the immortal philosopher of Stagira. Dr. Kappes, in this pamphlet, affords the principal termini technici of Aristotle alphabetically arranged and largely illustrated by quotations from his several works. Notwithstanding its small compass, it represents a profound research into Aristotelian philosophy. The scholastics who have drawn so largely on Aristotle are not left unmentioned, for this may be seen by a reference to the terms *δύναμις*, *ἐνέργεια*, and others where due notice is taken of the historical development which the terms have undergone in the course of ages.

Problems of the Far East: Japan, Korea, China. By the Hon. G. N. CURZON, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 1894.

THE author, with whom travel has been adopted as a course of training for statesmanship, has produced a book whose opportuneness to the present crisis is the least of its merits. With that power of assimilating encyclopedic information of which his monumental work on Persia was an example, he looks beneath the superficial aspect of things to lay bare the inner springs of national existence. Thus he ascribes the recent invasion of Korea by Japan, skillfully prepared, as it was, for months previous, to the desire of the statesmen of the latter country to avert domestic revolution by foreign adventure. Of the ultimate future of China he is not sanguine, maintaining that her tardy progress is "a mechanical and not a moral advance, an artificial and not an organic reform." His chapters on Korea, where few travellers have penetrated, are novel and entertaining. A king who with his courtiers sits up at night for fear of ghosts, and accounts the electric light among methods of exorcism,

is a suggestive study of barbaric superstition, face to face with the results of modern progress. The Palace electrician is consequently in a superior position, as the only official whose salary is regularly paid, since when it falls into arrears his machinery by some mysterious effect of sympathy invariably gets out of order. With this potentate, described as "an old gentleman with a faultless black hat, a benign and sleepy expression, plump cheeks, and a long, thin, grey moustache and beard," he had an amusing interview. Having been warned that he would lose all consideration in his Majesty's eyes if he confessed to his real age as only thirty-three, he boldly answered when questioned on this head that he was forty. "Dear me," said his royal interlocutor, "you look very young for that. How do you account for it?" "By the fact that I have been travelling for a month in the superb climate of your Majesty's dominions," was the courtier-like and ready reply. The royal surprise on learning that the English ex-Minister was not related to his sovereign, as he would necessarily have been as a qualification for such high office in Korea, was mitigated by the addendum that he was as yet an unmarried man, hinting at the possibility of a future alliance with royalty.

A country full of anomalies, where the culture of the potato is a criminal offence, despite frequent famines from the failure of other crops, where the king's name must never be spoken outside his own household, and he must go down to posterity even by a pseudonym, and where every one paints and writes verses, is well worthy of European study.

The Ascent of Man. By Professor H. DRUMMOND. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S volume is written in so fascinating a style that it is not easy at first to disentangle his argument from the eloquence with which it is supported, and to disparage by dissent a theory so persuasively advocated. His main object is to show that there is a natural basis for ethics in the maternal instinct of self-sacrifice divinely implanted in the lower animals, in which he sees the germ of all future developments of human love and benevolence. He thus makes the unselfish devotion designed to secure the survival of the race, the supreme law of nature, relegating to the second place the purely egotistical promptings of the struggle for life on the part of the individual. This idea is worked out in a series of brilliant chapters, in which he gives a glowing picture of the evolution of the perfected human body from its supposed ancestors in the lower kingdoms of nature. He lays too much stress, however, on the

theory of the identity of the early stages of life in the individual and in the species, according to which the former only comes to maturity after passing through the phases by which the latter ascended from the lowest to the highest form of being. This theory is controverted by the most eminent modern biologists, and even the supposed facts on which it was based are no longer considered so certainly ascertained as they were once assumed to be.

Les Origines du Concordat. Par LÉON SICHÉ. Paris: Librairie Delagrave. 1894.

IN these two massive volumes the author reviews the whole history of the negotiations which resulted in the Concordat of 1801, the basis of that reconstruction of society in France which it was the lasting triumph of Napoleon to have achieved. The aim of the work is to prove that, contrary to the received opinion, it was already in contemplation previous to the conclusion of the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797, and that only the implacable hatred of religion by the Directory delayed for four years longer the restoration of peace with the Church. "The Directory," he says in his Preface, "which had inherited all the anti-religious rancours of the Revolution, wished to put a definitive end to the spiritual and temporal power of the Church and dreamed of establishing on the ruins of the pontifical monarchy a great Roman republic." The secularisation of Rome was thus a task the fulfilment of which was left as a legacy by the sectaries of the eighteenth to those of the nineteenth century.

L'Hymnologie dans l'Office Divin. Par le CHANOINE ULYSSE CHEVALIER. Paris: Picard Librairie, Rue Bonaparte, 82. 1894.

THE professed purpose of this scholarly brochure is to raise the question of restoring to the Roman Breviary the original versions of the sacred hymns which were altered in the seventeenth century. Perhaps one of the least justifiable results of the renaissance in matters ecclesiastical was the correction of the hymns in the Divine Office. It was a reformation in liturgy only in the same sense as the contemporary reformation was in religion, and it was due to much the same causes, though operating in less momentous matters. The Christian poets who had sung in the early centuries wrote in the later latinity current at the time. The rules of

prosody were of less importance to them than unction and dogmatic fitness of phrase. And they were guided in versification more by accent than quantity. These inaccuracies of metre and imperfections of style were supposed to be intolerable to the purists of the classical revival. Their polite ears were offended by medieval barbarisms and the false quantities in the hymns moved them more to laughter than devotion. It mattered little that the hymns they despised were the work of saints and doctors of the Church, or that they were charged with holy memories of a thousand years, during which they had ministered to the aspirations of generations of pious souls. But their barbarous phrases, full of unction and mystical illusion, however, must be sacrificed to latinity and metre. *Accessit latinitas recessit pietas*. Nothing was sacred to the enlightened humanist who spoke of the Blessed Trinity and the Saints in terms of heathen mythology, and who would not read St. Paul lest it should spoil his Greek!

This movement in favour of a recension of the Church's hymnology which had been growing since the classical revival, culminated early in the seventeenth century, at which time Urban VIII. (Cardinal Barberini) committed the task to four Jesuit fathers, less famous for liturgical than for classical lore. Curiously enough the same Pope has earned unenviable repute for ruining the ancient buildings as well as the liturgy of Rome; he and his family being the subjects of the famous pasquinade: *Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini*. A minor poet himself—as witness his hymns for St. Martinmas Day—Pope Urban was discreet enough not to take a personal part in the revision. But the work was done thoroughly by his delegates. The number of corrections they made was considerable, no less than 952 syllables being changed in eighty-two hymns—about twelve alterations a-piece. Some of the hymns suffered more than others; many were completely disfigured; and whilst the style itself of the new version is not always above reproach, in some cases the changes seem purely gratuitous; in the beautiful hymn for virgins, *Qui pascis inter lilia* is turned into *Qui pergis inter lilia*, with no gain to metrical accuracy, and with a total loss of the scriptural allusion. As might be expected the new version met with much opposition, and was only imposed by sheer weight of authority. According to our author the Lateran and Vatican Basilicas never accepted it, or rather gained exemption from its enforcement; the same privilege was extended to the Benedictines, whose breviary still retains the ancient and original versions. With the decline of the classical fever and a growing reverence for antiquity has risen a regret at the desecration of the traditional poetry of the Church. We are learning once more to prefer the

devout words of Gregory, Ambrose, or Prudentius to the frigid pedantry of obscure classicists. This reviving interest in Christian antiquities is leading to a study of all liturgical subjects, the latest outcome of which is this respectful and urgent request that the original hymns may be restored to the offices of the Church.

Canon Chevalier's pamphlet raises incidentally several points of interest. In the course of a learned sketch of the evolution of the Breviary he brings out the great influence which the monastic Order has had on a work so peculiarly its own as the Divine Office which, though its origin may be traced to Apostolic times, received its first great development from the monasteries and the monk-bishops of the East. In the West St. Benedict's influence upon it was considerable. Himself a Roman, and founding his monasteries in the vicinity of Rome, he naturally based his arrangement of the "Opus Divinum" on the ancient *cursus* of the Roman Church, which in its turn adopted many improvements from him. Some of these came through "the supreme reformer of the offices of the Roman Church St. Gregory the Great, who professed the rule and followed the office" of St. Benedict. M. Chevalier treats the controversy on this point as quite antiquated, and proceeds, with some further remarks, which are specially interesting in view of the projects for the new Metropolitan Cathedral:

After the example of his predecessor Pelagius II., who had called to the Lateran Church the monks whom the Lombards had driven from Monte Cassino, he himself (St. Gregory) established religious in many other churches of the Eternal City. Following his footsteps several of his successors in the chair of St. Peter down to the ninth century, adopted the same means to render the Divine Office more solemn, and caused monasteries to be built in connection with the principal basilicas of Rome, the Vatican, St. Paul's, St. Mary Major's, &c. (p. 14).

Traces of this monastic influence on the Divine Office are chiefly to be found in the institution of Compline, in the name given to Prime, and the form of the Little Hours. But its most noticeable result in connection with our present subject was the introduction of hymns into all the canonical hours. Christian poetry owes thus a double debt to the patriarch of Western monks, in whose cloisters to many of its earliest flights were winged, and where it found shelter during the storm of the paganised Renaissance.

The erudite brochure of which we have briefly indicated some of the contents is merely an introduction to a larger work on "The Liturgical Poetry of the Western Church." The Abbé Chevalier is already favourably known for his liturgical studies, and this brochure makes us look forward eagerly to the completed work which he is preparing.

J. I. C.

The Life of St. Teresa. By GABRIELA CUNNINGHAME-GRAHAM.
London : Adam and Charles Black. 1894.

IT seems a curious anomaly that a life of St. Teresa should be written in a spirit of enthusiastic admiration by one who does not share her faith. For the great reformer of the Carmelites was not one of those saints whom modern philosophy can condescend to patronise as philanthropists, while ignoring the higher impulses prompting their beneficence, since Teresa's life-work was devoted exclusively to spiritual aims, and her motive the enhancement of the Divine glory, not the alleviation of the material woes of humanity. Mrs. Graham is consequently betrayed into many inconsistencies and contradictions when trying to elucidate by the light of reason alone the nature of her inspiration, and the mystical aspect of her many-sided character. She does not, however, distort the facts, and is for the most part content to suppress her own views, and to narrate with the ardent sympathy of a devotee the story of a life whose real significance must, one would have thought, be lost upon her. Yet the greatness of her subject so completely possesses her as to exalt her work to a higher level than she herself consciously attains, giving us on the whole no inadequate picture of that vivid personality which dominates her thoughts as it did the entire religious life of the sixteenth century. The narrative is vivified by the author's intimate acquaintance with all its settings and surroundings, with those old-world Castilian towns little changed since Teresa trod their stony streets, as well as with the life and manners of Spain at the same date, which live again for us on her glowing pages. Despite a faulty style, often slipshod, and sometimes ungrammatical, she has the power of language which enables her to stir the imagination and sway the feelings of the reader, to revivify the past, and call up visions to the mind's eye. The subjoined passage is an example of that descriptive power which catches not only the outward aspect but the inner meaning of the scene portrayed :

What did Burgos look like to these old-world travellers, when travelling was travelling indeed, and towns and cities dawned on the traveller from afar, and grew larger and larger on his vision, as tired mule or donkey flagged wearily across the plain ; not as now, when you whiz into it in a railway train ? Then he saw what the nuns now saw as they pulled back the awning (for they were but women), a city such as you may see drawn by some monkish draughtsman in the vignette of an old missal, or some old, very old engraving. An irregular conglomerate of serried roofs and monastery towers, girt in with turreted walls and bridges, even as the race of fighters had fashioned it, jagged of outline, a little grayer than the sky, it looked as if it had lain there for ever—a small oasis of life cut out of the vastness of the plain. Ragged sky torn by the tempest ; lace-work spire shooting up against it ; smokeless, stately and grim, the city

lay dripping in the rain, moss-grown, gray, and faded on the low-lying banks of the Arlanzon. Away to the left, overlooking the water meadows where the stork mused gravely on the landscape, Las Huelgas, the proudest convent in all Spain, its aisles lined with tombs of kings and queens, above them the silken banner of the Miramolin rotting proudly to dust. Facing them an old tower on an eminence, mouldering even then, overshadowing the city as was but meet, as its owner had overshadowed it in life, even the Cid, the great Cid Campeador. And Teresa, as she watched it growing on her vision across the flooded water meadows, little recked that as Burgos—the capital of Spain long before Valladolid, the chiefest jewel in the Castilian crown—then lived on his memory, as if he, the stern old Gothic knight, had been its sole *raison d'être*, so, too, that wild old fortress town among the moorlands, which she had beheld for the last time, was to live on hers to all eternity.

Mrs. Graham is no less happy in her sketches of Teresa's contemporaries than in her vignettes of Spanish scenery. The beautiful Princess of Eboli, shrouded in the mystery of a tragic fate; her husband, Ruy Gomez, the royal favourite, the sainted hermit Catalina de Cardona, who fled the Court to live as a solitary in the wilderness, are some of those incidentally portrayed. Sometimes historical personages appear in an unexpected aspect, as when Ferdinand of Toledo, the stern Duke of Alva, the scourge of the Netherlands, is represented as "an old grey-headed man, reading Teresa's life, and meekly listening to the spiritual counsels and comfort of one of her barefooted friars, professing that nothing could give him greater pleasure although it cost him many leagues to see the Mother Teresa."

Happy turns of speech too gem the pages, like the description of the populace of Seville where "every rascal was a gentleman, and every gentleman was a rascal," and the phrase in which Cervantes is spoken of as reading the chivalric romances, until "he laughed them into limbo." Foreign idioms, on the other hand, sometimes mar the author's English, as in the word "conserve," invariably substituted for preserve throughout the book. It is strange too, to find one so familiar with the ways of Southern Europe unaware that "Pascua Florida," like the "Pasqua Rosa" of the Italians, is not Easter but Whitsuntide, while remarking in a note that the date would have accorded better with that of the latter festival. A jarring note too is struck whenever she gives expression to her own views on religion, making the Catholic reader wish to be able to draw his pen through the few passages which thus deface what is otherwise a work of rare interest and merit.

Publications of the Catholic Truth Society. 18 West Square, London, S.E. 1894.

THE Report of the Catholic Truth Society for the current year, which was presented at the Preston Conference, is one of the most satisfactory of its recent publications; the new branches founded, the new works undertaken, and the latest statistics quoted, showing most forcibly what the Society has accomplished during the ten years since its reconstruction. Evidently the demand for cheap Catholic literature, and for an organisation to supply and distribute it was greater than could have been supposed. The vitality of the Society is well shown by the new branches it has put forth, such as those at Southwark, Liverpool, Manchester, and notably the national branch for Scotland, and the special branch for seamen. The Society's works too are extending in variety as well as amount. "A Manual of Church History" is far advanced towards completion. There is talk of publishing a cheap and attractive monthly magazine, and of engaging lecturers to follow and confute the Church Defence orators, whilst the attention of the Committee is being turned to providing

a large and varied selection of good and cheap pictures for Catholic schools and homes; and series of lives of the Fathers of the Church and of extracts from their writings; popular commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; histories of particular Churches; a book on our English cathedrals, and an abridged and cheap Catholic Dictionary (Report p. 5.)

Perhaps the figures given of the sale of the Society's publications form the most remarkable evidence of its usefulness. Some of them are worth quoting: Of the "Publications"—a series of volumes of miscellaneous reading—over 32,000 have been sold; of "Tales and Poems," 8313; "Biographies," 13,050; "English Martyrs," 4415; "Stories of the Seven Sacraments," 4441. Of shilling books the whole number hitherto sold has been 89,766; of sixpenny, 26,688; of fourpenny, 54,440; the total number of bound books amounting to 176,912! Of the "Simple Prayer Book" 300,000 have been sold, and of F. Clarke's "Meditation-books" no less than 364,000! During the past twelve months alone, exclusive of the simple prayer book, 248,000 penny pamphlets have been printed, 186,000 leaflets, and 13,000 at various prices. A circulation so vast as this might well tempt the ambition of our ablest writers. If we compare it with the limited circle of readers reached by our learned magazines and quarterlies, it will be seen what an opportunity for benefiting both our own people and outsiders is afforded by the Catholic Truth Society; and when the ablest pens at our disposal are attracted to

the cause, we shall have less of the cheap criticism which we have sometimes heard about the feebleness of some of its productions.

Amongst the most recent publications we would draw attention to Lady Herbert's account of her own conversion to the faith,—"How I came home." The personal element in an autobiography of this kind always makes it interesting; and as example is better than precept, the simple story of the search after truth by one so well known as its writer is likely to prove helpful to others in similar trials. To the same indefatigable pen we owe two contributions to the biographical series: "A Siberian Priest," and the very touching "Life of St. Monica."

Several new leaflets are added to the already large supply, and some penny issues, notably "A Book of the Mass." We notice one slight blot on Canon Foran's excellent and effective lecture, "All about Monks and Nuns," viz. on page 4, where he unearths a now monastic order called the "Sons of St. Gregory," of whose foundation, however, by that saint history bears no trace, and which seems to have very soon vanished unaccountably into space. No doubt the author was relying on the now quite discredited theory of Baronius which Longard followed; but in a note he half apologises for the statement in the text, and he gives up the whole point by saying that "the rule of their father St. Gregory was fashioned on the Benedictine model." St. Benedict's rule has always been strong enough and living enough to admit of growth, and the changes sanctioned by St. Gregory were only its adaptation to fresh environment and to the needs of the Church. In a pamphlet so widely circulated as Canon Foran's it was a pity not to have altered the inaccurate phrases in the text.

We are glad to notice, finally, that the Catholic Truth Society is not overlooking the temperance cause and the special needs of the Church in Wales.

The Life of Blessed Anthony Baldinucci. By FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1894. (Quarterly Series.)

THE life of this holy man, an eminent missionary of the Society of Jesus in the concluding years of the seventeenth century, who was beatified last year, has never before been brought into public notice. Yet Anthony Baldinucci was a very remarkable man. Refined, gentle, nervous and spiritual by nature, he laboured in the missions for over twenty years with all the sacrifice and ardour of a

Segneai, but with ideas and methods of his own. His chief missionary head quarters seem to have been at Frascati, and he never went further north than Perugia or beyond Terracina in the south. He was marvellously successful in restoring faith and morality among the poor country populations of Central Italy. He did not succeed so well in large towns—or rather, perhaps, with those set sermons which it was the fashion to preach during Lent and Advent. But he drew after him in crowds those hard-worked and very poor peasants who live high up in the hill-towns of these regions and go down to their work in the valleys. Father Goldie has drawn largely on a very extensive collection of his letters which has been preserved. Blessed Anthony was one of those men whose very countenance—with its pallor and flashing eyes—converted his hearers; but he practised, besides, all those austerities and all those holy arts of which we read in the career of Italian missionaries. Two of his peculiar practices may be noted. He was always most anxious that the people who assembled for the exercises of the mission should be provided with hymn-books; would hymn-books have been of much use to an English crowd in 1700? He distinguished himself by his solicitude to provide work for the people among whom he moved; and we read that in Frascati and other places he set on foot factories and work-shops, especially for the sake of the young girls.

Letters to Persons in Religion, and Letters to Persons in the World. By ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. Translated by Very Rev. Canon MACKEY, O.S.B., with Introductions by Bishop HEDLEY. xxxvi.-443 and xxxi.-463 respectively. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

IT would be quite superfluous for us to say anything in favour of the admirable letters of the great and saintly Bishop of Geneva. For centuries they have been recognised as masterpieces of piety, gentleness, and sound sense, and read with profit and delight. The present collection is enhanced by the fact that it contains much which has never been presented to the public. Within the two volumes heading this notice, almost every topic of interest has been touched upon, and it would be difficult for any one in doubt or perplexity or spiritual trouble to pick them up without finding something to meet his own case, and to throw light upon his own difficulties. There are letters addressed to ladies, old and young, unmarried, married and widows, as well as to men of the world

almost every condition of life. We will select a few passages as specimens.

In writing to console a lady on the death of her husband, he says:—

Consider that you have so much charity and fear of God, that seeing good pleasure and holy will, you will conform yourself to it, and will turn your sorrow by the consideration of the evil of this world, which is so miserable that, but for our frailty, we should rather praise God when he takes from it our friends, than trouble ourselves about it. It is necessary that all, one after another, should quit it in the order which is appointed; and the first are the best off, when they have lived with care for their salvation and soul. . . . Sorrow is not forbidden us provided that we moderate it by the hope which we have of not remaining separated, but in a little time of following him to heaven, the place of repose, God giving us this grace. There shall we form and enjoy without end good and Christian friendships, which in this world we have only begun (p. 129-130).

To a lady confined to bed by a disagreeable illness, he gives the following advice:—

I understand, my dear daughter, that you have an illness, more troublesome than dangerous, and I know that such illnesses are prone to spoil the obedience we owe to the doctors; wherefore I tell you not to deprive yourself of the rest, or the medicines, or the food, or the recreations appointed to you. You can exercise a kind of obedience and resignation in this which will make you extremely agreeable to our Lord. Behold a quantity of crosses and mortifications, which you have neither chosen nor wished. God has given you them with His holy hand: receive them, kiss them, love them (p. 217).

To a gentleman of the world who had asked him a question concerning the interpretation of Holy Scripture, he sent a letter containing the following:

Sir,—It is very true that the Sacred Scripture contains with much plainness the doctrine required for your salvation, and I never thought the contrary. It is also true that it is a very good method of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures to compare passages with one another, and to reduce the whole to the analogy of the faith; that also I have ever observed. But, all the same, I cease not to believe quite certainly, and to say constantly, that in spite of this admirable and delightful clearness of the Scriptures on things necessary for salvation, the human spirit does not always find the true sense of it, but can err, and in fact very often does err, in the intelligence of passages which are the most clear and the most necessary for the establishment of the faith. Witness the Lutheran errors, and the Calvinist books, which, under the conduct of the fathers of the pretended Reform, remain in irreconcilable contradiction on the meaning of the words of institution of the Blessed Eucharist. While both sides boast of having carefully and faithfully examined the sense of these works [mistake for "words"?] by comparing other passages of Holy Writ, and adjusting the whole to the analogy of faith, they still remain opposed in their way of understanding words of such great importance. Scripture then is plain in its words, but the heart of man is dim-sighted, and, like a night owl, cannot see this brightness (p. 189).

To a young lady intent upon marriage he writes:—

The state of marriage is one which requires more virtue and constancy than any other; it is a perpetual exercise of mortification; it will perhaps be so to you more than usual. You must then dispose yourself to it with a particular care, that from this thyme-plant, in spite of the bitter nature of its juice, you may be able to draw and make the honey of a holy life. May the sweet Jesus be ever your sugar and your honey to sweeten your vocation; ever may He live and reign in our hearts (p. 18).

We will conclude with a quotation from a letter addressed to M. Favre, in which the saint speaks of his own feelings and hopes as regards eternity:—

We cannot [he writes] have any more solid consolation in this life than that of being assured that it gradually disappears to make room for that holy eternity which is prepared for us in the abundance of God's mercy. To this eternity our soul aspires incessantly by the continual thoughts its very nature suggests to it, though it cannot have hope for eternity except by other and higher thoughts which the author of nature bestows upon it. Truly, I never think of eternity without much sweetness; for, say I, how could my soul extend its thought to this infinity unless it had some kind of proportion with it? Certainly a faculty which attains an object must have some sort of correspondence with it. But when I find that my desire runs after my thought upon this same eternity, my joy takes an unparalleled increase, for I know that we never desire anything which is not possible. My desire then assures me that I can have eternity; what remains for me but to hope that I shall have it. And this is given to me by the knowledge of the infinite goodness of Him who would not have created a soul capable of thinking of and tending towards eternity, unless He has intended to give the means of attaining it (p. 461-2).

The translator, we think, has done his work fairly well. The collocation of words, the order of clauses and sentences, and the general formation of some of the phrases have not always the pure idiomatic ring about them which we would like, and in some instances the modes of expression too irresistibly remind us of the language from which they have been drawn. Even in the above quotations, there are sentences which—while grammatically correct—would never have been written by an Englishman, unless writing as a translator.

Practical Commentary on Holy Scripture. For the use of Catechists and Teachers. By FREDERICK JUSTUS KNECHT, D.D. Translated from the tenth German edition. Preface by Rev. MICHAEL F. GLANCEY. Two vols. 8vo (xxxvi.—982 pp.). Price 9s.; half morocco, 11s. 9d. First volume: The Old Testament (xxviii.—438 pp.). Second volume: The New Testament (viii.—544 pp.).

THESE two volumes of commentary on Holy Scripture will meet a widely felt need, and will be much prized not only by the religious instructors in our schools and colleges, but also by many a busy and hard-working priest on the mission. The first volume deals with the Old and the second with the New Testament. The chief events narrated in the Bible are told in simple and clear language, and the lessons they are intended to convey are pointed out in such a manner that the simplest reader may readily understand them. In fact the doctrines of the Church, especially as relating to the Commandments and the Sacraments, are beautifully illustrated and explained by examples from the inspired pages. Such a system cannot but impress a child far more deeply than any mere repetition of dry formularies, and will secure his interest and attention in a degree which, in any other way, would be impossible. As a specimen, let us reproduce the commentary upon the murder of Abel by his brother Cain. After describing the event on pages 34, 35, and 36, the author offers the following remarks:

- 1) *God is omniscient.* God knew the minds of both Cain and Abel. He saw Cain's envy and bloodthirstiness, and knew what crime he had committed, even though Cain would not acknowledge it.
- 2) *God is holy.* Therefore the offering of the righteous Abel was well pleasing to Him, but He took no pleasure in the offering of the evil-minded Cain.
- 3) *God is just.* In what way did God show His justice in this story? First by the words: "If thou do well, shalt thou not receive?" and these other words: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me." Also by the fact that He punished the murderer most terribly.
- 4) *Envy is a capital sin.* Because, as we have seen, in the case of Cain, it leads to many other sins. To begin with, Cain was envious of his brother, and then, because he did not check this feeling, there grew in his heart a fierce anger against Abel. He did not resist this anger, but rather cherished it, so that it turned into bitter hatred, and kindled in his heart the terrible desire to kill his brother. Then, as he did not resist this thirst for blood, it grew until at last it led him to commit the terrible crime of fratricide.
- 5) *Murder.* The deadly blow which Cain dealt Abel was intentional and deliberate, and such an action is called murder. Cain was not only a murderer, but also a fratricide—i.e., the murderer of his brother.
- 6) *The sins which cry to Heaven for vengeance.* We can see by this story of Cain and Abel, whence comes the expression of sins crying to Heaven.

heaven for vengeance. Wilful murder is counted among them because of the words of God: "The blood of thy brother crieth," &c.

(7) *The forgiveness of sins.* Is it true that Cain might have obtained forgiveness if he had done penance? His sin was indeed great, but God's mercy is infinitely greater, and the murderer would have been forgiven by God if he had but repented and confessed his terrible sin. Our faith teaches us that all sins can be remitted if only they are confessed with proper dispositions. It was Cain's own fault that he did not obtain forgiveness. He would not confess his sin, though God Himself questioned him. We cannot get our sins forgiven unless we confess them. Cain also had no true contrition, and all hope of pardon depends on that. He, however, had given up hope, and despaired of God's mercy.

(8) *Free will.* There are those who yield to their evil passions, and then say that they could not help it. Is it true that they could not have helped it? Could not Cain have acted differently from what he did? God Himself had said to him: "Keep away from sin." We are not obliged to follow our evil inclinations, for we have free will, and can overcome our passions if we choose.

(9) *The necessity of grace.* Grace is, however, necessary to enable the free will of man to choose what is right. Cain had received quite sufficient grace, and if he had corresponded with it, he would have been quite able to overcome his envy and hatred, and would never have become a murderer.

(10) *Abel is the second type of Jesus Christ.* Abel was just; a shepherd, envied by his brother, slain by him; and his blood cries for vengeance. Jesus Christ is the most Just, and the Good Shepherd of mankind. Out of envy He was persecuted and slain by His brethren, the Jews. His blood cries for grace and pardon for sinful man. The homeless wandering Cain is a type of the *Jewish people*, who resisted God's grace, and who, since they slew their God, have been homeless and scattered over all the earth. *Eve*, weeping over the body of her beloved son, slain by the hand of his brother is a type of the *sorrowful mother of God, who stood sorrowing at the foot of the Cross*, on which hung her Divine Son, slain by his brethren, the Jews.

Then follows the "Application." The above is a fair specimen of the treatment which the different events in Holy Scripture meet with in this work, and the general method followed by the author.

One of the most valuable features of the whole, is the "Concordance between Holy Scripture and the Catechism," to be found at the end of the second volume. It begins on page 512, and occupies thirty-two pages, and will prove of the greatest use both to preachers and to those engaged in controversy and in the defence of the Church's teaching at least against persons still professing belief in the inspired volume. Both volumes are well printed and enriched with a large number of good illustrations.

Lexicon Syriacum auctore Carolo Brockelman. Praefatus est TH. NÖLDEKE. T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh.

WE cordially welcome this Lexicon as a most important addition to the collection of Syriac literature and a great help to students of Semitic languages. As Hebrew and Arabic are already in possession of several lexicons, a complete and standard lexicon of Syria, such as Mr. Brockelman has given us, was certainly a desideratum. Possibly the scholar, thoroughly conversant with Hebrew, Biblical and Talmudic Aramaic, and possessed with a fair knowledge of Greek, might, after having mastered the Syriac characters and rudiments of its grammar, experience comparatively little difficulty in translating Syriac; yet the knowledge of Syriac is of so great importance for the study of the New Testament and of patristic literature, that one might with good reason apply himself to the study of Syriac even before a sufficient acquaintance with Hebrew has been obtained.

As far as the first part published permits us to form a judgment, we do not hesitate to say that the present work shows signs of great learning and skill, and is undertaken in a thoroughly scientific manner. A long list of Syriac works—amongst which we gladly notice those of the eminent Catholic scholars, Pr. Bickell, Mgr. Abbeloos, and Mgr. Lamy—referred to in the lexicon proves that this is the fruit of great labour and genuine scholarship. And if there still existed any doubt on this point, the name alone of the well-known Syriac scholar, Pr. Th. Nöldeke, would be sufficient to convince us that this lexicon is a work of the greatest value.

We very much approve also of the plan followed by the author of adding in Greek characters the corresponding Greek word, whenever a Syriac word is of Greek origin, for this makes the word familiar to the student, and helps him at once to ascertain its true meaning.

The present part, consisting of eighty pages, contains the first four letters of the alphabet, and consequently leads us to expect four other parts of at least similar dimension. The printer's work is done with great care, and the lexicon has been got up in a very neat and elegant manner.

Divine Love and Love of God's Blessed Mother. By Right Rev. J. F. WELD, Protonotary Apostolic. 8vo, pp. 563.

ACCORDING to the words of our Lord, man's duty on earth is to love God with his whole heart, mind, and strength. And Paul tells us herein we have the sum of perfection, since "He

that loveth hath fulfilled the law." It cannot be doubted, however, that there are many earnest Christians whose love of God is much spoilt by fear of His vengeance ; and there are others who find no little difficulty in reconciling the actual events of life with the notion of a God all love and goodness. Thus, for instance, how often do we see the wicked man prosper and the just man unable to succeed ? or how often does death rob a home of its mother and leave a houseful of young children to be dragged up anyhow by a drunken father ? or see again collisions on the railways, explosions in coal mines, calamities at sea. And God sees all these miseries and could prevent them. Hence arise in certain minds hard thoughts of God which hinder the heart from going out to Him with entire love and perfect confidence. To remove these hard thoughts and to present God in all His loveliness is the scope of this work. Mgr. Weld brings to his task a cultured mind, long experience, practical and tender piety. It embodies the substance of his spiritual discourses, retreats and reflections of the last fifty years. From the first page to the last there is not a single quotation from the Fathers, theologians, or ascetical writers. The rev. author pours out the wealth of his own thoughts, while the frequent quotations from Scripture give light and weight to his words. The meditations are positive as well as negative. Not satisfied with answering objections, they unfold to the reader, in simple yet elevated language, the proofs of God's love in the trial and triumph of the angels, in the creation and fall of man, in the Incarnation of the Word, and in Mary's peerless love for the children of Eve. Notwithstanding the solid proofs of God's love which the author exemplifies in many forms and ways, he does not profess to remove every difficulty, but when the difficulty appears to be insoluble, he goes to the key. Thus :

I have a sum in arithmetic to do, and I know from the key what the answer is, but I wish to work it out myself. If my solution differs from the key, I know that I am wrong, and I try again until my answer agrees with the true solution. In like manner, when I go to our Lord to learn truth and study His ways, He tells me to go to His loving heart, because it is the key which shows what all His truth and ways really are and must be, no matter how unintelligible to me (p. 9).

The book consists of 563 pages, and divides itself into eight parts. Space forbids us to name even the headings of the various meditations, but we may say in brief Part I. brings us to the Sacred Heart as the key which unlocks every problem, tells how Mary's love leads sinners to her Son ; discourses of the incomparable beauty of Jesus Christ, of His love manifested throughout all the world ; how sin

intercepts that love, and how the sensible effects of that love are sometimes withheld for the greater perfection of the soul.

In Part II. the purpose of our life on earth is explained to be nothing else and can be nothing else except to love God. The school in which we learn love is the Sacred Heart; that heart is surrounded by unrequited love; the signs of our possessing love of God are given; we are instructed in the purpose of God scourging in time those whom He will love for eternity.

Part III. is particularly interesting. A strong imagination enables the author to picture in vivid colours the angels of God upon their trial. His conception of the two archangels, Michael and Lucifer, is truly grand. The method of the trial, also the action of all the parties, the words spoken, the skilful manner in which God's foreknowledge of Mary's consent to the Incarnation is made to decide the issue, are all touched with a dignity and majesty worthy of the sublimity of the theme.

Part IV. describes creation of the world and of man. This, of course, is a familiar story and the reader may be tempted to skip it. In that case he would miss some most instructive meditations, for in this part the work of creation and the future redemption are interwoven, and we see, what indeed must have been the case, how God's knowledge of the future influenced Him, if we may so speak, in creating. To take for example a passage which suggests what was in the mind of God when He said: "Let the earth bring forth the green herb," &c.:

I saw great fields covered with flowering wheat, which waved like seas of purest gold, in the brilliant dawn of eternal light which shone down upon them; and it was the breath of the great Creator, breathing on those golden ears of wheat, which caused them to wave like the waters of the mighty ocean, and they seemed to bear Him on their bosom and carry Him to those who loved Him. Then a most delicious odour ascended to His very throne, and also seemed to bear Him thence, to His beloved children. . . . It was the sweet odour of the flowering vine. Then I saw that the brightest angels looked down from heaven, and gladly would they have been transformed into that golden wheat, and ground into bread, or have replaced the fruit of the vine, and been trodden in the wine-press that stood close by (p. 245).

Part V. draws a graphic picture of the inroad of self-love on the hearts of Adam and Eve, and the catastrophe of the Fall. It is the general belief our first parents repented and are saved. But what moved Adam to contrition? Mgr. Weld puts his repentance on higher ground than loss of heaven or fear of hell—he conceives that God revealed to him the future Saviour.

Parts VI., VII., and VIII. deal especially with God's Blessed

Mother. This portion of the work, occupying over 200 pages, is rich in instruction and most suggestive of pious reflection. Many will consider it the best part of the book. It gives us a sublime idea of Mary's sanctity and sweetness, and of the tremendous part she played in bringing about our redemption. We cannot quote extracts, for already we see the shadow of the Editor's scissors upon our page, yet the treatise is well worthy of careful study.

It would have been well had the introduction to several of the meditations been shortened, and for usefulness a good index is very desirable. These slight faults, however, do not materially affect the value of the work, and we recommend it to all who have taste for spiritual things. It is brimful of holy thoughts, it is very suggestive; in a few places it is somewhat profound, yet as a whole it is quite within the compass of the ordinary reader. We feel sure that no one will rise from its perusal without an enlarged idea of the love of God and of our Lady, nor yet without a feeling of veneration for its author, to whom indeed the work has been a labour of love. Mgr. Weld, besides the authorship, bears the cost of printing and binding, and, except the copies sent to the clergy, gives all copies of the book to Joseph's College, Mill Hill, to be sold for the benefit of the Foreign Missions. It may be procured, post free, for the small cost of 3s.

L. D. S.

Dante's Divina Commedia: Its Scope and Value. From the German of FRANZ HETTINGER, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Wurzburg. Edited by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, of the Oratory. Second edition. Revised. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

NEARLY ten years ago, on the publication of the first edition of this book, the late Cardinal Manning wrote to Father Bowden: "You have conferred a true benefit upon us by publishing Dr. Hettinger's work on Dante. It will be not only a signal help to readers of the *Divina Commedia*, but it will, I hope, awaken Catholics to a sense of the not inculpable neglect of the greatest of poets, who by every title of genius, and by the intensity of his whole heart and soul, is the master-poet of the Catholic Faith." We are glad to see that a second edition of the work has been called for, though we suspect that a very considerable portion of the first has found its way into the hands of non-Catholic students of the poet. But whether Catholics or non-Catholics take up this introductory commentary they will find in Hettinger and his English editor, reliable

guides to an aspect of the *Divina Commedia* that is too often overlooked or misinterpreted. The poem is essentially the work of a theologian, yet how many commentators devote themselves to elaborate investigations into the politics and the history of the period, and write as if Dante, the Ghibelline partisan, were the personality chiefly revealed in this mystic pilgrimage through the unseen world? Lettinger's merit is that he reads the verse of Dante in the light of those same teachers to whom Dante himself appeals as the source of his inspiration. Without neglecting the literary and the historical element in the *Divina Commedia*, he dwells mostly upon its philosophy and theology. To those who have attempted to read Dante by the light of the merely literary commentators, this great Catholic critic opens up a new world of beauty and truth, and Father Bowen's translation, or rather adaptation of the German original, makes this key to Dante available to what we hope will be an ever-increasing number of Catholic students of "this mediæval miracle of song."

Reviews in Brief.

The Mysteries of the Holy Rosary. An easy method of reciting the prayers and meditating on the Mysteries. Freiburg: Herder. 1893. Pp. 63.—This small book is furnished with the recommendation of several bishops. It is adorned with suitable illustrations, and will prove a useful help in reciting the Rosary. The prayers are short but suggestive, and adapted to the understanding even of little ones. The book is concluded by eighteen prayers indulged by the Holy See.

Deharbe's Small Catechism. Translated from the German. Pp. 66. Price 3d. Freiburg: Herder. 1893.—This catechism is destined for the first classes of elementary schools, and from its brevity and clearness will prove to be an excellent aid.

The Maiden's Progress. By VIOLET HUNT. London: Osgood & McIlvaine. 1894.—This short novel in dialogue is a brilliant satire on some aspects of the society of the present day, and has a deeper meaning underlying its bright persiflage as a study of that product of modern life the girl up to date, without religion, sense of duty, or even much capability for natural affection to hold in check the vagaries of her undisciplined imagination. Discontent with life and all it has to offer her is the key-note of her character, and frivolity, selfishness, and vanity dictate all her actions. Moderna, the heroine of the present volume, is one of the least odious of the species, and her follies are more superficial than inherent. Many other social types of the day are sketched with suggestive touches that convey the speaker's mental attitude in a few words.

Sarah, a Survival. By SIDNEY CHRISTIAN. London: Sampson Low. 1894.—We confess to have experienced a slight sensation of disappointment at the somewhat ignoble ending of the high-spirited and lofty-minded Sarah Thornborough. Having committed the mistake so common among heroines, of engaging herself to a man to whom she is absolutely indifferent, she proceeds to retrieve matters by undisguisedly showing preference for another. The latter proves so coy, that she has eventually to propose for him, after hunting him

in his lodgings for the purpose. Yet despite these blemishes the book is not without charm, and the description of Sarah's childhood and surrounding has the indefinable quality which painters call atmosphere. A sympathetic description of the Basques and their country is incidentally introduced.

The Real Charlotte. By E. E. SOMERVILLE AND MARTIN ROSS. London: Ward & Downey. 1894.—The joint authors of "An Irish Cousin" give here a picture of Irish life which is undeniably powerful, yet unpleasant and misleading. There is no society, none ought to know better than Miss Somerville, more exclusive than that of the county gentry of Ireland, yet she represents the Charlotte of her title-page as admitted into its charmed circle, though saturated with that unredeemed lowness which includes coarseness of mind and character. Neither could her pretty protégée, Fanny, ever have been tolerated by ladies in any country, as her thoughts and ways were those of the least cultivated of factory hands.

Books Received.

- Theologia Dogmatica Generalis.** G. David. Lyons: E. Vitte.
2 vols. 8vo, pp. 934.
- A Retreat, consisting of Thirty-three Discourses, with Meditations for the use of the Clergy.** By the Right Rev. Cuthbert Hedley, Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates.
- Catechism of Humility.** Mother Elizabeth of the Cross. Washbourne. 12mo, pp. 154.
- The Rambler's Return.** Rev. M. Horgan. Louth: Goulding. Brochure, pp. 88.
- Hospitaller Knights of St. John.** Rev. J. Bowen. London and Leamington: Art & Book Co. Pp. 32.
- Easy Selections from Herodotus.** A. C. Liddell, M.A. London: Methuen. Pp. xi.-84.
- History of the Papacy During Reformation.** Dr. Creighton. Longmans. Vol. V. 8vo, pp. 384.
- Divorce Report as Received by the Lower House of Convocation of York.** Sampson Low & Co. Pp. 106.
- Christianity and the Roman Government.** E. G. Hardy, M.A. Longmans. 8vo, pp. xv.-208.
- Distinguished Irishmen of Sixteenth Century.** Rev. E. Hogan, S.J. Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. ix.-506.
- Letters and Writings of Marie Lataste.** E. H. Thompson, M.A. Burns & Oates. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 202.
- Anecdota Oxoniensia.** Edited by Kuno Meyer. Clarendon Press. Part VIII. Pp. 91.
- L'Université Catholique de Fribourg.** C. Morel. Arras: Sueur Charruey. Pp. 51.

- de la Necessité de Développer les Etudes Scientifiques.**
Rev. J. Zahm, C.S.C. Brussels: par Polleunis et Auterick.
Brochure, pp. 28.
- Only a Child's Story.** Mrs. W. Maude. Catholic Truth Society.
8vo, pp. 187.
- The Heart and Songs of the Spanish Sierras.** G. W. White.
Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 197.
- Key to Carroll's Geometry.** Burns & Oates. Pp. 48.
- Constant Lover.** Translated from German by John Nisbet.
Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 193.
- Aventures et Guerre d'Amour de Baron Cormatin.** H.
Welschinger. Paris: Plon Nourrit. 8vo, pp. 290.
- Some Aspects of Disestablishment.** Edited by H. C. Shuttle-
worth. London: Innes & Co. 8vo, pp. x.-192.
- The Monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.** By a Carthusian
Monk. Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xlvii.-234.
- l'Abbaye du Mont St. Michel.** G. de Bouchet. Paris:
Lethiellieux. 8vo, pp. 297.
- A Life's Decision.** T. W. Allies. Burns & Oates. 8vo,
pp. xvi.-320.
- Epitome Synodorum.** London: Art & Book Co. Brochure,
pp. 41.
- Mission Providentielle de Jeanne d'Arc.** Ollivier, O.P.
Paris: Lethiellieux. Pp. 29.
- Records Relating to Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.**
Canon Monaghan. Dublin: Gill & Son. 8vo, pp. ix.-400.
- Occasional Essays.** S. Chatard, D.D. New York: C. P. S.
8vo, pp. 376.
- Theory of Inference.** Rev. H. Hughes, M.A. Kegan Paul.
8vo, pp. vi.-256.
- Attitude of Church of England to Non-Episcopal Ordina-
tions.** W. Firminger, B.A. Southampton Street, London:
J. Parker & Co. Brochure, pp. xiv.-75.

The Portraits of St. Bernard. Samuel Eales. Innes & Co. Brochure, pp. 19.

Saint Sacrifice de la Messe. N. Gühr. Lethiellieux. 8vo, pp. 419, Vol. I.; pp. 458, Vol. II.

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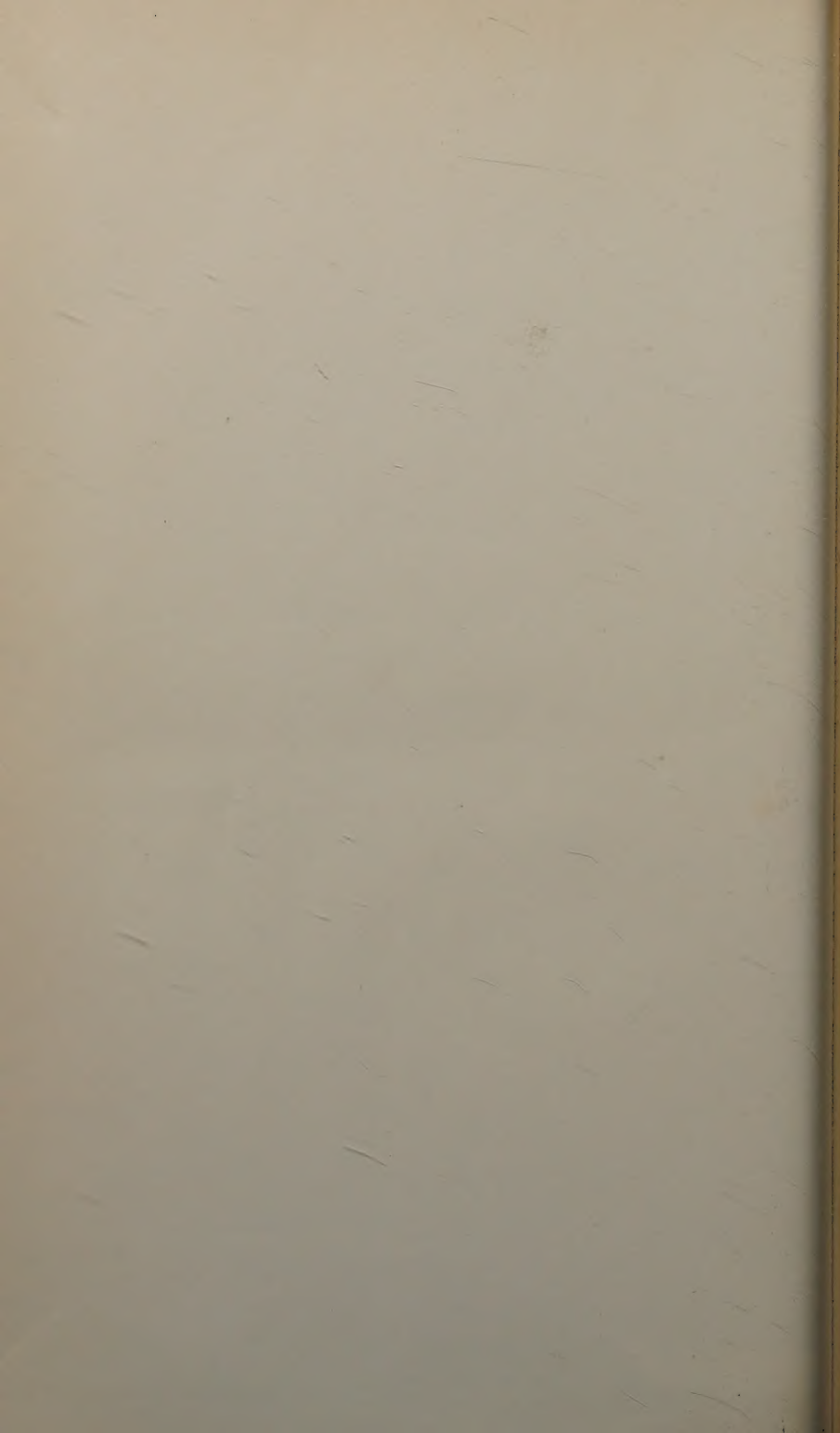
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